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FOR

Greek Prose Composition

SELECTED AND ARRANGED

BY

J. Y. SARGENT, M.A.
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PREFACE.

THE present work differs from preceding collections of the kind in two respects. First, the passages are arranged according to style and subject-matter for convenience of reference. Secondly, to each English piece, except in the Miscellaneous part, references are appended to analogous or similar passages in classical authors of approved merit, with the object of furnishing a model to the student in his attempt to render them into Greek or Latin.

Harris Gil - 20 May 1880

As the selections are mainly taken from standard English authors, and are not translations, the student must not expect to find the same thoughts occurring in the same sequence, or similarly expressed, in the passages to which he is referred; but in all cases there will be found some analogy, by comparison or contrast, in the subject, circumstances, or spirit of the parallel passages, sufficient to furnish hints for the treatment of the piece to be turned, and to suggest the style to be adopted in turning it.

All composition in a dead language must be by imitation of forms already, as it were, stereotyped; but that is the best which insensibly recalls the tone of a classical author without either travestying his peculiarities or borrowing his phrases.

It is thought that the following exercises, on the plan of analogous passages, will be an aid towards forming a good style in Greek and Latin Prose, both by directing the student to the best models, and by guarding against the waste of labour experienced in working indiscriminately on ill-assorted or intractable materials.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

A GREAT many fresh passages have been added to the present edition. Some of these have been chosen, as being peculiarly adapted for rendering into Greek, on the ground of their resemblance in tone to the authors referred to in each case. Some are selections from papers set in various scholarship Examinations. Several new pieces of an easier grade have been introduced, in which the syntax is simple, and the sentences short, resembling in that respect the narrative style of Xenophon. As the Anabasis is, or ought to be, constantly read in Schools, these pieces will be found suited for boys who are not yet familiar with the more complicated periods of Demosthenes and Plato. They will recognise a likeness to something they have read in Greek, and may thus be encouraged to try their hands at imitation.

Demosthenes is quoted by the numbers, between brackets, of Reiske's pages, as in the *Oratores Attici;* Æschines, and the other orators, by the pages of H. Stephens, as in the *Oratores Attici.*

J. Y. S.
T. F. D.

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FOR GREEK PROSE.

I.—HISTORICAL.

I.

IN the year of our Lord 1348, there happened at Florence, the finest city in all Italy, a most terrible plague; which, whether owing to the influence of the planets, or that it was sent from God as a just punishment for our sins, had broken out some years before in the Levant; and after passing from place to place, and making terrible havoc all the way, had now reached the west; where, spite of all the means that art and human foresight could suggest, as keeping the city clear from filth, and excluding all suspected persons: notwithstanding frequent consultations what else was to be done; nor omitting prayers to God in frequent processions: in the spring of the foregoing year it began to show itself in a sad and wonderful manner. To the cure of this malady neither medical knowledge nor the power of drugs was of any effect: whether because the disease was in its own nature mortal, or that the physicians (the number of whom, taking quacks and women-pretenders into the account, was very great) could form no just idea of the cause, nor consequently ground a true method of cure: whichever was the reason, few or none escaped.

A

Thucydides, ii. 47 *sqq.*

II.

MEN of the strongest minds were lost in amazement,
they contemplated this scene of woe and desol
the weak and the credulous became the dupes of thei
fears and imaginations. Tales the most improbable, an
dictions the most terrific, were circulated : numbers asse
at different cemeteries to behold the ghosts of the dead
round the pits in which their bodies had been deposited
crowds believed that they saw in the heavens a sw
flame, stretching from Westminster to the Tower. To
their terrors came the fanatics, who felt themselves in
to act the part of prophets. One of these, in a state of n
walked through the city, bearing on his head a pan of b
coals, and denouncing the judgments of God on its
inhabitants : another assuming the character of Jonah
claimed aloud as he passed, 'Yet forty days and L
shall be destroyed ;' and a third might be met, sometin
day, sometimes by night, advancing with a hurried ste
exclaiming with a deep sepulchral voice, 'Oh, the grea
dreadful God !'

Thucydides, ii. 8. 21, 52-54 ; i. 23.

III.

IN this state of suspense, superstitious terrors pos
men's minds readily. The Capitol was struck
lightning, an unwonted prodigy ; and the Sibylline
were consulted in consequence. The books said, '
the lightning shall strike the Capitol and the tem
Apollo, then must thou, O Roman, beware of the
And another prophecy said that a time should come

the race of the Greeks and the race of the Gauls should occupy the Forum of Rome.' It is characteristic of superstition to transfer to its idols that mockery of truth which itself so delights in, and to believe that they care not for wickedness, if it be done to promote their service. A man and woman of the Gaulish race, with a Greek man and woman, were buried alive in the Forum Boarium, that the prophecy might be fulfilled in word, and might, so the Romans hoped, be proved to be in spirit a lie.

Thucydides, ii. 17 ; ii. 54.

IV.

HERE he formed the plan of an enterprise, the adventurous character of which it seems difficult to reconcile with his habitual caution. This was a night assault on Rome. He did not communicate his whole purpose to his officers, but simply ordered them to prepare to march on the following night, the twenty-sixth of August, against a neighbouring city, the name of which he did not disclose. It was a wealthy place, he said, but he was most anxious that no violence should be offered to the inhabitants in either their persons or property. The soldiers should be forbidden even to enter the dwellings ; but he promised that the loss of booty should be compensated by increase of pay. The men were to go lightly armed, without baggage, and with their shirts over their mail, affording the best means of recognising one another in the dark.

The night was obscure, but unfortunately a driving storm of rain set in, which did such damage to the roads as greatly to impede the march, and the dawn was nigh at hand when

the troops reached the place of destination. To thei
surprise, they then understood that the object of atta
Rome itself.

Thucydides, iii.

Xenophon, *Anab.* i. c. iv. 11, *sqq.*

V.

TWO young men, Philemenus and Nicon, were the
of the enterprise. Philemenus, under pretence o
ing, had persuaded the officer at one of the gates to allo
to pass in and out of the town by night without interr
He was known to be devoted to his sport: he scarce
returned without having caught or killed some game or
and by liberally giving away what he had caught, he w
favour and confidence not only of the officer of the ga
also of the Roman governor himself, M. Livius Macatu
little did Livius suspect any danger, that on the ve
which the conspirators had fixed for their attempt, an
Hannibal, with 10,000 men, was advancing upon the to
had invited a large party to meet him at the temple
Muses, near the market-place, and was engaged from a
hour in festivity.

Polybius, viii. 28.

Thucydides, iv. 67.

VI.

THERE was another circumstance which was lik
favour a surprise: for the Tarentines, followi
direction of an oracle, as they said, buried their dead
the city walls; and the street of the tombs was inte
between the gates and the inhabited parts of the town.
the conspirators turned to their own purposes: in this

quarter two of their number, Nicon and Tragiscus, were waiting for Hannibal's arrival without the gates. As soon as they perceived the signal which was to announce his presence, they, with a party of their friends, were to surprise the gates from within, and put the guards to the sword: while others had been left in the city to keep watch near the museum, and prevent any communication from being conveyed to the Roman governor.

Thucydides, iii. 22.

VII.

THEY now divided into three parties: one was posted near the governor's house, a second secured the approaches to the market-place, and the third hastened to the quarter of the tombs to watch for Hannibal's signal. They did not watch long in vain: a fire in a particular spot without the walls assured them that Hannibal was at hand. They lit a fire in answer: and presently, as had been agreed upon, the fire without the walls disappeared. Then the conspirators rushed to the gate of the city, surprised it with ease, put the guards to the sword, and began to hew asunder the bar by which the gates were fastened. No sooner was it forced, and the gates opened, than Hannibal's soldiers were seen ready to enter: so exactly had the time of the operation been calculated.

Thucydides, ii. 4; iv. 110, *sqq.*

VIII.

MEANTIME Philemenus, with a thousand Africans, had been sent to secure another gate by stratagem. The guards were accustomed to let him in at all hours, whenever

he returned from his hunting expeditions; and now,
they heard his usual whistle, one of them went to the g
admit him. Philemenus called to the guard from with
open the wicket quickly: for that he and his friend
killed a huge wild boar, and could scarcely bear the
any longer. The guard, accustomed to have a share
spoil, opened the wicket; and Philemenus and three
conspirators, disguised as countrymen, stepped in carryi
boar between them. They instantly killed the poor gua
he was admiring and feeling their prize; and then let in
thirty Africans who were following close behind. Wit
force they mastered the gate-house and towers, killed a
guards, and hewed asunder the bars of the main ga
admit the whole column of Africans, who marched in o
side also in regular order, and advanced towards the m
place.

Thucydides, ii. 3, 4; iv. 67.

IX.

ONE morning in March there came a party of pea
fifteen or twenty in number, laden with sacks of
nuts and walnuts, to the northernmost gate of the
They offered them for sale, as usual, to the soldiers a
guardhouse, and chaffered and jested—as boors and so
are wont to do—over their wares. It so happened that i
course of the bargaining one of the bags became untied
its contents, much to the dissatisfaction of the proprietor,
emptied on the ground. There was a scramble for the
nuts, and much shouting, kicking, and squabbling en
growing almost into a quarrel between the burgher-sol
and the peasants. As the altercation was at its heig

heavy wagon laden with long planks came towards the gate for the use of carpenters within the town. The portcullis was drawn up to admit the lumbering vehicle, but in the confusion caused by the chance medley going on at the guardhouse, the gate dropped again before the wagon had fairly got through the passage, and remained resting upon the timber with which it was piled.

Thucydides, iv. 67; iv. 111-112.

X.

IT was the 18th of June, a day which, if Greek superstition still retained its influence, would be held sacred to Nemesis, a day on which the two greatest princes of modern times were taught by a terrible experience that neither skill nor valour can fix the inconstancy of fortune. The battle began before noon: and part of the Prussian army maintained the contest till after the midsummer sun had gone down. But at length the king found that his troops, having been repeatedly driven back with frightful carnage, could no longer be led to the charge. He was with difficulty persuaded to quit the field. The officers of his personal staff were under the necessity of expostulating with him, and one of them took the liberty to say, 'Does your Majesty mean to storm the batteries alone?' Thirteen thousand of his followers had perished. Nothing remained for him but to raise the siege, and retreat in good order.

Xenophon, *Anab.* i. c. viii. 8, *sqq.* 25.

XI.

EVERYTHING was ready, and the Gauls on the opposite side had poured out of their camp, and lined the bank in scattered groups at the most accessible points, thinking that their task of stopping the enemy's landing would be easily accomplished. At length Hannibal's eye observed a column of smoke rising on the further shore, above or on the right of the barbarians. This was the concerted signal which assured him of the arrival of his detachment: and he instantly ordered his men to embark, and to push across with all possible speed. They pulled vigorously against the rapid stream, cheering each other to the work: while behind them were their friends, cheering them also from the bank: and before them were the Gauls singing their war-songs, and calling them to come on with tones and gestures of defiance.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. vii. 8; iv. c. iii. 3.

XII.

BUT on a sudden a mass of fire was seen on the rear of the barbarians: the Gauls on the bank looked behind, and began to turn away from the river: and presently the bright arms and white linen coats of the African and Spanish soldiers appeared above the bank, breaking in upon the disorderly line of the Gauls. Hannibal himself, who was with the party crossing the river, leaped on shore amongst the first, and forming his men as fast as they landed, led them instantly to the charge. But the Gauls, confused and bewildered, made little resistance: they fled in utter rout: whilst Hannibal, not losing a moment, sent back his vessels and boats for a fresh detachment of his army: and before night his whole force, with the exception of his elephants, was safely established on the eastern side of the Rhone.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. iii. 21.

XIII.

IT was necessary to advance men under cover of hurdles and extended skins to fill up the ditch with fascines, and to construct, almost in contact with the walls, huge banks of earth, supported by stones and stakes, till they reached the level of the ramparts. The face of these banks was as nearly as possible perpendicular: they sloped in the rear, to afford easy ascent to the assailants. They were crowned, moreover, with towers, from which missiles of all kinds might be hurled by the strength of men's arms, or from engines adapted for the purpose. Meanwhile the skill and spirit of the defenders were directed to overthrowing these constructions as fast as they were erected, and the mass of wood necessarily employed in them afforded aliment for fire.

Thucydides, ii. 75, *sqq.* Arrian, *Anab.* ii. c. 15.

XIV.

A SUCCESSFUL sally enabled the Jews to get in the rear of these embankments, to attack the camp of the Romans, and destroy the munitions of war laid up for the service of the siege. The assailants were obliged to resume their operations with the mine and the battering-ram. The chambers they excavated beneath the walls were constantly counter-mined by the defenders; furious combats were waged in the darkness, and the miners were sometimes confounded by the attack of wild bears, and even of bees let loose in the narrow galleries among them. The attempts to board the city from the banks, and to surprise it from underground, having equally failed, the battering engines were still plied with persevering resolution; stones and darts, boiling water and oil, were in vain poured down upon the covering which protected the assailants: at last the massive wall crumbled in dust before them, and the Romans stood triumphant within the outer line of defences.

Arrian, *Anab.* ii. c. 15. Thucydides, ii. 76.

XV.

BUT the natural difficulties of the ground on the descent were greater than ever. The snow covered the track, so that the men often lost it, and fell down the steep below: at last they came to a place where an avalanche had carried it away altogether for about 300 yards, leaving the mountain-side a mere wreck of scattered rocks and snow. To go round was impossible: for the depth of the snow on the heights above rendered it hopeless to scale them: nothing therefore was left but to repair the road. A summit of some extent was found, and cleared of the snow: and here the army was obliged to encamp, whilst the work went on. There was no want of hands: and every man was labouring for his life. The road therefore was restored, and supported with solid substructions below; and in a single day it was made practicable for the cavalry and baggage cattle, which were immediately sent forward, and reached the lower valley in safety, where they were turned out to pasture.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. iv. 7; ii. 10.

XVI.

THE conferences were held between Syracuse and the Roman camp, and a Roman soldier, it is said, was struck with the lowness of the wall in one particular place, and having counted the rows of stones, and so computed the whole height, reported to Marcellus that it might be scaled with ladders of ordinary length. Marcellus listened to the suggestion; but the low point was for that very reason more carefully guarded, because it seemed to invite attack; he therefore thought the attempt too hazardous, unless occasion should favour it. But the great festival of Diana was at hand, a three days' solemnity celebrated with all honours to the guardian goddess of Syracuse. One vast revel prevailed through the city; Marcellus informed of all this by deserters, got his ladders ready; and soon after dark, two cohorts were marched in silence and in a long thin column to the foot of the wall, preceded by the soldiers of one maniple, who carried the ladders, and were to lead the way to the assault.

Thucydides, iii. 20, 21, 22. Herodotus, i. 84.

XVII.

IN the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarm begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not only landed, but even entering the city. There was, in truth, some days before, great suspicion of those two nations joining; and now that they had been the occasion of firing the town. This report did so terrify, that on a sudden there was such an uproar and tumult that they ran from their goods, and, taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense or reason. The clamour and peril grew so excessive, that it made the whole court amazed, and they did, with infinite pains and great difficulty, reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards, to cause them to retire into the fields again, where they were watche this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home ciently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little cal and the affright abated, they now began to repair into suburbs about the city, where such as had friends, or o tunity, got shelter for the present; to which his Majesty's clamation also invited them.

Thucydides, ii. 14, 17; viii. 1. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. c. ii. 17. Demosthenes, *de Corona*, [284, 21].

XVIII.

MARCELLUS brought up his ships against the sea-wa Achradina, and endeavoured by a constant discha of stones and arrows to clear the walls of their defenders ; that his men might apply their ladders and mount to assault. These ladders rested on two ships lashed toget broadside to broadside, and worked as one by their outs oars; and when the two ships were brought close up un the wall, one end of the ladder was raised by ropes pass through blocks affixed to the two mast-heads of the two sels, and was then let go till it rested on the top of the w But Archimedes had supplied the ramparts with an artillery powerful, that it overwhelmed the Romans before they co get within the range which their missiles could reach, a when they came closer, they found that all the lower part the wall was loop-holed; and their men were struck down w fatal aim by an enemy whom they could not see, and who sl his arrows in perfect security.

Arrian, *Anab.* ii. c. xv. 6-24.

XIX.

IF they still persevered, and attempted to fix their ladders, on a sudden they saw long poles thrust out from the top of the wall, like the arms of a giant; and enormous stones, or huge masses of lead, were dropped from these upon them, by which their ladders were crushed to pieces, and their ships were almost sunk. At other times, machines like cranes were thrust out over the wall: and the end of the lever, with an iron grapple affixed to it, was lowered upon the Roman ships. As soon as the grapple had taken hold, the other end of the lever was lowered by heavy weights, and the ship raised out of the water, till it was made almost to stand upon its stern: then the grapple was suddenly let go, and the ship dropped into the sea with a violence which either upset it, or filled it with water.

Arrian, *Anab.* ii. c. xv. 6-24.

XX.

THUS the battle raged along the water and on the land. The whole circuit of the Great Port was studded with fire. A din of hideous noises rose in the air; the roar of cannon, the rattle of musketry, the hissing of fiery missiles, the crash of falling masonry, the shrieks of the dying, and, high above all, the fierce cries of those who struggled for the mastery! To add to the tumult, in the heat of the fight, a spark falling into the magazine of combustibles in the fortress, it blew up with a tremendous explosion, drowning every other noise, and stilling the combat. A cloud of smoke and vapour, rising into the air, settled heavily, like a dark canopy, above the town. It seemed as if a volcano had suddenly burst from the peaceful waters of the Mediterranean, belching out volumes of fire and smoke, and shaking the island to its centre!

The fight had lasted for some hours; and still the little band of Christian warriors made good their stand against the overwhelming odds of numbers. The sun had now risen high in the heavens, and as its rays beat fiercely on the heads of the assailants, their impetuosity began to slacken. At length, faint with heat and excessive toil, and many staggering under wounds, it was with difficulty that the janizaries could be brought back to the attack; and the general saw with chagrin that the town was not to be won that day. Soon after noon, he gave the signal to retreat; and the Moslem host, drawing off under a galling fire from the garrison, fell back in sullen silence into their trenches, as the tiger, baffled in his expected prey, takes refuge from the spear of the hunter in his jungle.

Thucydides, vii. 70, 71. Diodorus Siculus, xiv. 72, 73.
Plutarch, *Marcellus*, xv.

XXI.

IN this action neither fleet suffered any considerable loss; but during the night one of the largest galleons was set on fire by the resentment of a Flemish gunner, who had been reproached by his captain with cowardice or treachery; a second, which had lost a mast by accident, fell astern and was captured, after a sharp engagement; and a third, which had separated from the fleet in the dark, met with a similar fate near the coast of France. These disasters proved lessons of caution to the Spanish admiral. His progress became more slow and laborious; the enemy was daring, and the weather capricious; some of his ships were disabled by successive engagements; others were occasionally entangled among the shoals of an unknown coast; and the necessity of protecting both from the incessant pursuit of the English, so retarded his course, that six days elapsed before he could reach his destination and cast anchor in the vicinity of Calais.

Thucydides, ii. 84, 92.

XXII.

THIS visitation broke both the power and the spirit of the Carthaginians. Dionysius now made a sally, and attacked them both by sea and land. He carried their post at the temple of Olympian Jupiter, and that at Dascon, at the very bottom of the harbour, on the right of the Anapus, where the Athenians first effected their landing. Here he found their ships drawn up on the beach, and he instantly set fire to them. Meanwhile the Syracusan fleet advanced right across the harbour, and surprised the enemy's ships before they could be manned and worked out from the shore to offer battle. Thus taking them at a disadvantage, the Greeks sunk or shattered them without resistance, or surrounded them and carried them by boarding. And now the flames began to spread from the ships on the beach to those which lay afloat moored close to the shore. These were mostly merchant-ships, worked by sails like ours, and consequently even while at anchor they had their masts up and their standing rigging. As the flames caught these and blazed up into the air, the spectacle afforded to the Syracusans on their walls was most magnificent. The crews of the burning ships leaped overboard, and left them to their fate: their cables were burnt, and the blazing masses began to drift about the harbour, and to run foul of one another, while the crackling of the flames and the crashing of the falling masts and of the sides of the ships in their mutual shocks, heard amidst volumes of smoke and sheets of fire, reminded the Syracusans of the destruction of the giants by the thunder of Jove when they had assayed in their pride to storm Olympus.

Thucydides, vii. 70. Diodorus, xiv. 73.

XXIII.

FROM thence he made sail for the shores of Gaul, sending forward one bark from his squadron to convey to the besieged the news of his arrival, and to exhort them to sally forth with their whole naval force, and join him off Tauroentum, a port and fortress at a little distance on the coast. The Massilians, since their recent defeat, had devoted themselves with unwearied energy to repairing their galleys, and arming the merchant vessels and fishing boats with which their harbour swarmed. They were not disposed to shrink from making a second experiment of their prowess, while the acclamations of the unarmed multitude, of their women and old men, encouraged them to strain every nerve in a contest in which their pride was so deeply interested. Nor did the assailants, who had multiplied the numerical strength of their armament since the last engagement, and were prepared to decide the contest on the broad decks of their rude but massive fabrics, decline the proffered meeting.

Thucydides, iii. 25; vii. 21.

XXIV.

IN numbers, however, the fleet of the Massilians still preponderated: the prætorian galley of Brutus was attacked at the same moment from opposite quarters by two powerful triremes, which dashed towards it with all the velocity their oars could impart. By a skilful turn of the rudder, the Cæsarian steersman extricated his vessel from both the assailants at the instant when they were about to strike her on either side, and the opposing beaks impinged violently against each other. Thus entangled and mutually disabled, they were speedily attacked, boarded, and destroyed. The Massilians and their allies, the Albici, are admitted to have fought admirably, but Nasidius gave them a very lukewarm support. As soon as the fortune of the day seemed to incline towards the Cæsarians, he quietly withdrew, without the loss of a single vessel, while of his allies thus treacherously deserted, five galleys were sunk and four captured.

Thucydides, ii. 91. Herodotus, viii. 87.

XXV.

A SIMILAR armament, for ages, had not rode the Adriatic: it was composed of 120 flat-bottomed vessels for the horses; 240 transports filled with men and arms; 70 store-ships laden with provisions; and 50 stout galleys, well prepared for the encounter of an enemy. While the wind was favourable, the sky serene, and the water smooth, every eye was fixed with wonder and delight on the scene of military and naval pomp which overspread the sea. The shields of the knights and squires, at once an ornament and a defence, were arranged on either side of the ships: the banners of the nations and families were displayed from the stern: our modern artillery was supplied by three hundred engines for casting stones and darts: the fatigues of the way were cheered with the sound of music; and the spirits of the adventurers were raised by the mutual assurance that 40,000 Christian heroes were equal to the conquest of the world.

Thucydides, vi. 31, 32; iii. 17.

XXVI.

WHEN the whole fleet was reassembled under the
land of Hermes, they stood to the southward
the coast, and disembarked the troops near the place
Aspis : a fortress built by Agathocles about fifty years b
and deriving its name from its walls forming a circle upo
top of a conical hill. They immediately drew their shi
on the beach, and secured them with a ditch and ram
and having taken Aspis, and despatched messengers to
with the news of their success, and to ask for further in
tions, they began to march into the country : and the ra
of forty thousand men were spread far and wide over
district, which, from its richness and flourishing cond
was unmatched probably in the world.

Thucydides, iii. 7 ; vi. 44.

XXVII.

EVERYWHERE were to be seen single houses sta
in the midst of vineyards, and olive grounds and
tures ; for every drop of rain was carefully preserved in t
on the high grounds, and a plentiful irrigation spread life
freshness on every side, even under the burning sun of Af
On such a land the hungry soldiers of the Roman army
now let loose without restraint. Villas were ransacked
burnt, cattle and horses were driven off in vast numbers,
20,000 persons, many of them doubtless of the highest
dition, and bred up in all the enjoyments of domestic p
and affluence, were carried away as slaves. This havoc
tinued for several weeks, till the messengers sent from R
returned with the Senate's orders.

Thucydides, vii. 29. Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. c. iii. 13.

XXVIII.

HASDRUBAL having laid waste the open country, advanced towards Panormus, and drew out his army in order of battle, as if in defiance. Then Metellus, keeping his regular infantry within one of the gates on the left of the enemy, so that by a timely sally he could attack them in flank, scattered his light troops in great numbers over the ground immediately in front of them, with orders if hard pressed to leap down into the ditch for refuge. Meantime all the idle hands in the town were employed in throwing down fresh supplies of missile weapons at the foot of the wall within the ditch, that the light troops might not exhaust their weapons. The elephants of Hasdrubal charged, drove the enemy before them, and advanced to the outer side of the ditch. Here they were overwhelmed with missiles of all sizes. Some fell into the ditch, and were despatched by thrusts of pikes, the rest turned about, and becoming ungovernable, broke into the ranks of their own army, which was advancing behind them, and threw it into confusion.

Thucydides, vi. 100; iii. 23. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 9, *sqq.*

XXIX.

BUT the principal harbour looked towards Africa, and its entrance was very narrow, because at a little distance from the shore there extends a line of shoals nearly rising in some places to the water's edge, and running parallel to the coast, and the passages through these shoals or round their extremity were exceedingly narrow and intricate. The land side was fortified by a wall with towers at intervals, and covered by a ditch ninety feet wide and sixty deep. The garrison consisted at first of 10,000 regular soldiers besides the inhabitants, and the governor. Himilcon was an able and active officer equal to the need.

Thucydides, vii. 4; ii. 102.

XXX.

ST. QUENTIN stands on a gentle eminence, protected on one side by marshes, or rather a morass of great extent, through which flows the river Somme, or a branch of it. On the same side of the river with St. Quentin lay the army of the besiegers, with their glittering lines extending to the very verge of the morass. A broad ditch defended the outer wall. But this ditch was commanded by the houses of the suburbs, which had already been taken possession of by the besiegers. There was, moreover, a thick plantation of trees close to the town, which would afford an effectual screen for the approach of an enemy.

One of the admiral's first acts was to cause a sortie to be made. The ditch was crossed, and some of the houses were burned to the ground. The trees on the banks were then levelled, and the approach to the town was laid open. Every preparation was made for a protracted defence. The exact quantity of provision was ascertained, and the rations were assigned for each man's daily consumption. As the supplies were inadequate to support the increased population for any length of time, Coligni ordered that all except those actively engaged in the defence of the place should leave it without delay. Many, under one pretext or another, contrived to remain, and share the fortunes of the garrison. But by this regulation he got rid of seven hundred useless persons, who, if they had stayed, must have been the victims of famine; and 'their dead bodies,' the admiral coolly remarked, 'would have bred a pestilence among the soldiers.'

Thucydides, iv. 102, *sqq.*; ii. 75, *sqq.*; iii. 97; vi. 66.

XXXI.

THE condition of the besieged, in the meantime, was forlorn in the extreme; not so much from want of food, though their supplies were scanty, as from excessive toil and exposure. Then it was that Coligni displayed all the strength of his character. He felt the importance of holding out as long as possible, that the nation might have time to breathe, as it were, and recover from the late disaster. He endeavoured to infuse his own spirit into the hearts of his soldiers, toiling with the meanest of them, and sharing all their privations. He cheered the desponding, by assuring them of speedy relief from their countrymen. Some he complimented for their bravery; others he flattered by asking their advice. He talked loudly of the resources at his command. If any should hear him so much as a hint at a surrender, he gave them leave to tie him hand and foot, and throw him into the moat. If he should hear one of them talk of it, the admiral promised to do as much by him.

Thucydides, iv. 26; vii. 69, 48. Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. c. iii. 11.

XXXII.

AFTER ten days' incessant labour, the ground was levelled, the ditch filled, the approaches of the besiegers were regularly made, and two hundred and fifty engines of assault exercised their various powers to clear the rampart, to batter the walls, and to sap the foundations. On the first appearance of a breach, the scaling ladders were applied: the numbers that defended the vantage-ground repulsed and oppressed the adventurous Latins: but they admired the resolution of fifteen knights and serjeants, who had gained the ascent, and maintained their perilous station till they were precipitated or made prisoners by the imperial guards.

Thucydides, vii. 43, 44.

XXXIII.

THE progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to feed on the bodies of their fellow-creatures; and even wild beasts, who multiplied without control in the desert, were exasperated by the taste of blood and the impatience of h to attack and devour their human prey. Pestilence appeared, the inseparable companion of famine; a large portion of the people was swept away, and the groans o dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. length the Barbarians, satiated with carnage and rapine, afflicted by the contagious evils which they themselves introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the depopul country. The lands were again cultivated, and the towns villages again occupied by a captive people. The gre part of the Spaniards was even disposed to prefer this condition of poverty and barbarism to the severe oppress of the Roman government; yet there were many who asserted their native freedom, and who refused, more espec in the mountains of Gallicia, to submit to the barbarian yo

Thucydides, ii. 70, 50, *sqq.*, 54.

XXXIV.

MEANWHILE, with the advance of spring, the green cr began to ripen, and the enthusiasm of the Cæsari in their general's cause warmed still more at the prospect greater plenty and a more familiar diet. They declared t would gnaw the bark from the trees before they would su Pompeius to escape out of their hands. Nor was the condit of the besieged much better. Though supplied with provisi by means of the fleet, they were in great want of water, Cæsar had dammed up or turned the water-courses wh ran from the surrounding heights into the space enclosed his lines, and the Pompeians were obliged to have recourse the wells which they sank in the sands and marshes of t sea-shore.

Thucydides, iv. 26.

XXXV.

IT was midwinter, and the wide pebbly bed of the Trebia, which the summer traveller may almost pass dryshod, was now filled with a rapid stream running breast-high. In the night it had rained heavily: and the morning was raw and chilly, threatening sleet or snow. Yet Sempronius led his soldiers through the river, before they had eaten anything: and wet, cold, and hungry as they were, he formed them in order of battle on the plain. Meanwhile Hannibal's men had eaten their breakfast in their tents, and had oiled their bodies, and put on their armour around their fires. Then, when the enemy had crossed the Trebia, and were advancing on the open plain, the Carthaginians marched out to meet them: and about a mile in front of their camp they formed in order of battle.

Arrian, *Anab.* v. c. 9-20, §§ 1-4; ii. c. 6-12; iv. 5, 2.
Thucydides, ii. 5; iii. 21, *sqq.*

XXXVI.

IN this situation the armies remained for some days, during which Graham and Picton went to England in bad health. No other events worth recording occurred. The weather was fine, the country rich, the troops received their rations regularly, the wine was so plentiful it was hard to keep the soldiers sober: the caves of Rueda, natural or cut in the rock below the surface of the earth, were so immense, and held so much wine, that the drunkards of two armies failed to make any very sensible diminution in the quantity, and many men perished in that labyrinth. The soldiers of each army also, passing the Duero in groups, held amicable intercourse, conversing of battles that were yet to be fought, and the camps on the banks of the Duero seemed at times to b to one general, so difficult is it to make brave men each other.

To the officers of the allies all looked prosperous, they impatient for the signal of battle, and many complained the French had been permitted to retreat; had Wellin been finally forced back to Portugal, his reputation w have been grievously assailed by his own people.

Thucydides, iv. 29; vi. 103; vii. 24.

XXXVII.

HANNIBAL allowed forty-eight hours to pass from time when the detachment left his camp: and ther the morning of the fifth day after his arrival on the Rhone made his preparations for the passage of his main army. mighty stream of the river, fed by the snows of the high A is swelled rather than diminished by the heats of summer that although the season was that when the southern ri are generally at their lowest, it was rolling the vast mass o waters along with a startling fulness and rapidity. heaviest vessels were therefore placed on the left, highest the stream, to form something of a breakwater for the sma craft crossing below: the small boats held the flower of light-armed foot, while the cavalry were in the larger vess most of the horses being towed astern swimming, and a sir soldier holding three or four together by their bridles.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. iii. 3. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 9.

XXXVIII.

FINDING that the Gauls were assembled on the east bank to oppose his passage, he sent off a detachment his army by night with native guides to ascend the right b for about twenty-two miles, and there to cross as they could, where there was no enemy to stop them. The woods which then lined the river supplied this detachment with the means of constructing barks and rafts enough for the passage. They took advantage of one of the many islands in this part of the Rhone, to cross where the stream was divided: and thus they all reached the left bank in safety. There they took up a strong position, probably one of those strange masses of rock which rise here and there, with steep cliffy sides, like islands out of the vast plain, and rested for twenty-four hours after their exertions in the march and the passage of the river.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. ii. 13. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 9.

XXXIX.

IN the plain which he had now reached, he halted for a whole day, and then resuming his march, proceeded for three days up the valley of the Isère, on the right bank, without encountering any difficulty. Then the natives met him with branches of trees in their hands, and wreaths on their heads, in token of peace: they spoke fairly, offered hostages, and wished, they said, neither to do the Carthaginians any injury, nor to receive any from them. Hannibal mistrusted them, yet did not wish to offend them: he accepted their terms, received their hostages, and obtained large supplies of cattle; and their whole behaviour seemed so trustworthy, that at last he accepted their guidance, it is said, through a difficult part of the country, which he was now approaching.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. viii. 4, *sqq.*

XL.

THE majority, peering forward with misty political vision, overlooked the difficulties close at hand. But their general was fretted with care and mortification, for all cross and evil circumstances seemed to combine against him. The Spanish co-operation had failed in every quarter: the enemy in front was growing stronger: Soult was seriously menacing Cadiz, and the king was said to have been joined by Drouet. The Portuguese troops were deserting in great numbers from misery; the English Government had absurdly and perniciously interfered with the supply of the military chest; there was no money, and the personal resources of Wellington alone kept the army in its forward position.

Thucydides, vii. 48, 49, 69.

XLI.

A REIGN of terror began—of terror heightened by mystery: for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange tribunal. It came from beyond the black water, as the people of India, with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of judges, not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters: its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. It had already collected around itself an army of the worst part of the native population, informers and false witnesses, and common barrators, and agents of chicane, and above all a banditti of bailiffs' followers, compared with whom, the retainers of the worst English sponging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even imputed, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial.

Thucydides, iii. 81, *sqq.*; viii. 66.

XLII.

THE feeling of patriotism was almost wholly extinguished. All the old maxims of foreign policy were changed Physical boundaries were superseded by moral boundaries. The conflict was not, as in ordinary times, between state and state, but between two omnipresent factions, each of which was in some places dominant, and in other places oppressed, but which openly or covertly carried on their strife in the bosom of every society. No man asked whether another belonged to the same country with himself, but whether he belonged to the same sect. Party spirit seemed to justify and consecrate acts which in any other times would have been considered as the foulest of treasons.

Thucydides, iii. 82.

XLIII.

THEN he turned to the Italian allies: they were not his enemies, he said; on the contrary, he had invaded Italy to aid them in casting off the yoke of Rome: he should still deal with them as he had treated his Italian prisoners taken at the Trebia. They were free from that moment, and without ransom. This being done, he halted for a short time to rest his army, and buried, with great solemnity, thirty of the most distinguished of those who had fallen on his own side in the battle. His whole loss had amounted only to 1500 men, of whom the greater part were Gauls. It is said also that he caused careful search, but in vain, to be made for the body of the consul Flaminius, being anxious to give him honourable burial.

Thucydides, iv. 85, 114.

XLIV.

LENITY and indulgence towards rebels were not only in themselves injurious to such a power, but would now afford an example of levity, which would destroy all the stability of the laws, and would stimulate the vanity of clever and ambitious men, to seek reputation by continually overthrowing what had been maturely resolved on the proposal of another. His own opinion remained unchanged: and he could not conceive how any one, who was not either seduced by the desire of displaying a perverse ingenuity, or swayed by mercenary motives, could question the justice and expediency of the decree. Mitylene had been guilty not simply of revolt, but of a malignant, wanton conspiracy, against an ally who had distinguished her among all her confederates by peculiar honours and privileges. As the offence was aggravated, the punishment ought to be severe. Nor was there any ground for making a distinction—which would only encourage offenders by supplying them with pretexts easily fabricated—between the class which had been active in the rebellion, and that which, by its acquiescence, had shown itself willing to share the risk of the enterprise, and had in fact co-operated with its authors. If such aggressors were allowed to hope for impunity, there would be no end to the labours, the dangers, and the losses of the commonwealth, which would be involved in a series of contests, in which victory would be unprofitable, defeat calamitous. A signal example was necessary to convince those who might be tempted to similar misdeeds, that no arts, either of eloquence or of corruption, would avail to screen them from vengeance.

Thucydides, iii. 37-40.

XLV.

THESE arguments, which had much logic in them, were strongly urged by Zapena, a veteran marshal of the camp who had seen much service, and whose counsels were usually received with deference. But on this occasion commanders and soldiers were hot for following up their victory. They cared nothing for the numbers of the enemy; they cried, The more infidels the greater glory in destroying them. Delay might after all cause the loss of the prize. The archduke ought to pray that the sun might stand still for him that morning, as for Joshua in the vale of Ajalon. The foe seeing himself entrapped, with destruction awaiting him, was now skulking towards his ships, which still offered him the means of escape. Should they give him time he would profit by their negligence, and next morning, when they reached Nieuport, the birds would be flown. Especially the leaders of the mutineers were hoarse with indignation at the proposed delay. They had not left their brethren, they shouted, nor rallied to the archduke's banner in order to sit down and dig in the sand like ploughmen. There was triumph for the Holy Church, there was the utter overthrow of the heretic army, there was rich booty to be gathered, all these things were within their reach if they now advanced and smote the rebels while, confused and panic-stricken, they were endeavouring to embark in their ships.

Thucydides, viii. 83, 84; vii. 73; iv. 27.

XLVI.

HE therefore reminds them, 'that no punishments ever devised had been able to put a stop to crimes; since the rigour of the laws, to whatever degree it might be stretched, could never extinguish the hope of impunity, by which men were buoyed up in their criminal enterprises. The cravings of passion, with the encouragement afforded by the capriciousness of fortune, would always lead them to face the most terrible dangers. It was with states as with individuals. None ever embarked in a war without what seemed to it a reasonable prospect of success; and none would ever be restrained from such undertakings by their knowledge of the evils which they would incur from a defeat. But the treatment which they had to expect from their enemies would have great weight in determining the duration of the contest. Men who might soon be reduced to submission upon moderate terms, if they despaired of mercy would hold out to the last.'

Thucydides, iii. 45.

XLVII.

'GENTLEMEN,' said he, 'my own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the stations of private sentinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and that of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all occasions to serve me and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your loyalty, hath made so deep an impression upon my heart, that, if it ever please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have just pretensions to. As for my son, your Prince, he is of your own blood, a child capable of any impression, and, as his education will be from you, it is not supposable that he can forget your merits. At your own desires, you are now going a long march far distant from me. Fear God and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king.' The company listened to his words with deep emotion, gathered round him, as if half repentant of their own desire to go; and so parted, for ever on this earth, the dethroned monarch and his exiled subjects.

Xenophon, *Anab.* i. c. iii. 3. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 8-11.

XLVIII.

HE looked on the army, the greater part of which he had quartered in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, as his chief—his only support against his enemies; and while the soldiers were comfortably clothed and fed, he might with confidence rely on their attachment: but now that their pay was in arrear, he had reason to apprehend that discontent might induce them to listen to the suggestions of those officers who sought to subvert his power. On former occasions, indeed, he had relieved himself from similar embarrassments by the imposition of taxes by his own authority; but this practice was so strongly reprobated in the petition and advice, and he had recently abjured it with so much solemnity, that he dared not repeat the experiment.

Xenophon, *Anab.* i. c. iv. 12, *sqq.* Thucydides, viii. 57.

XLIX.

IN the commonwealths of Greece the interests of every individual were inseparably bound up with those of the state. An invasion destroyed his corn-fields and vineyards, drove him from his home, and compelled him to encounter all the hardships of a military life. A treaty of peace restored him to security and comfort. A victory doubled the number of his slaves. A defeat perhaps made him a slave himself. When Pericles, in the Peloponnesian war, told the Athenians that if their country triumphed, their private losses would speedily be repaired, but that if their arms failed of success, every individual amongst them would probably be ruined, he spoke no more than the truth.

Xenophon, *Resp. Ath.* 1. Thucydides, ii. 60.

L.

WHEN a war of annihilation is surely, though in point of time indefinitely, impending over a weaker state, the wiser, more resolute, and more devoted men—who would immediately prepare for the unavoidable struggle—would accept it at a favourable moment, and thus cover their defensive policy by offensive tactics—always find themselves hampered by an indolent and cowardly multitude of money-worshippers, of the aged and feeble, and of the thoughtless who wish merely to gain time, to live and die in peace, and to postpone at any price the final struggle. Thus there was in Carthage a party of peace and a party of war, both, as it was natural, associating themselves with the political distinction that already existed between the conservatives and the reformers. The former found its support in the governing boards, the council of the Ancients and that of the Hundred, led by Hanno the Great, as he was called : the latter found its support in the leaders of the multitude, particularly the much respected Hasdrubal, and in the officers of the Sicilian army, whose great successes under the leadership of Hamilcar, although they had been otherwise fruitless, had at least shown to the patriots a method which appeared to promise deliverance from the great danger that beset them.

Demosthenes, *Philipp.* iii. 75 [ix. 127]; *Chersones.* 53, *sqq.* [viii. 102]; *Olynth.* iii. 30, *sqq.* [iii. 35]. Thucydides, ii. 64, 65.

LI.

LET us pause for a moment over the conflict which extended the dominion of Rome beyond the circling sea that encloses the peninsula. It was one of the longest and most severe which the Romans ever waged. Many of the soldiers who fought in the decisive battle were unborn when the contest began. Nevertheless, despite the incomparably noble incidents which it now and again presented, we can scarcely name any war which the Romans managed so wretchedly and with such vacillation, both in a military and in a political point of view. It could hardly be otherwise. The contest occurred amidst a transition in their political system, —the transition from an Italian policy, which no longer sufficed to the policy of a great state which was not yet matured. The Roman senate and the Roman military system were excellently organized for a purely Italian policy. The wars which such a policy provoked were purely continental wars, and always rested on the capital, situated in the middle of the peninsula, as the primary basis of operations, and on the chain of Roman fortresses as a secondary basis. The problems to be solved were mainly tactical, not strategical; marches and operations occupied but a subordinate place; battles held the first place; siege warfare was in its infancy; the sea and naval war hardly for a moment crossed men's thoughts.

Thucydides, i. 1, 3, 7, 10, 97.

Do.

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LII.

WE can easily understand, if we bear in mind that in the battles of that period it was really the hand-to-hand encounter that proved decisive, how a deliberative assembly might direct such operations, and how any one who was mayor of the city might command the troops. All this was changed in a moment. The field of battle stretched away to an incalculable distance, to the unknown regions of another continent, and beyond broadly spreading seas: every wave might prove a pathway for the enemy, every harbour might send forth an invading fleet. The siege of strong places, particularly maritime fortresses, in which the first tacticians of Greece had failed, had now for the first time to be attempted by the Romans. A land army and the system of a civic militia no longer sufficed. It was necessary to create a fleet, and what was more difficult, to employ it: it was necessary to find out the true points of attack and defence, to combine and to direct masses, to calculate and mutually adjust expeditions extending over long periods and great distances: if these things were not attended to, even an enemy far weaker in the tactics of the field might easily vanquish a stronger opponent. Is there any wonder that the reins of government in such an exigency slipped from the hands of a deliberative assembly and of commanding burgomasters?

Thucydides, i. 1, 3, 7, 10, 97.

Nov. 97. LIII.

THE spirit of ancient Rome had thus completely disappeared from all the relations of life; the moral strength of the people was broken; the freedom of their fathers was gone. Rome had become unable to govern herself, and wanted the powerful hand of an absolute ruler: like an exhausted mother, she had lost the power of producing truly great and good men. She was incapable of enjoying political freedom, which prospers only when it is supported by the manly virtues and the moral character of a nation. Thousands must have looked with disgust upon the perpetual struggles which had of late torn the republic to pieces, and must have felt that a tranquil enjoyment of life, which was with many the highest object of existence, was incompatible with the continuance of the republic.

Isocrates, *de Pace*, 41, *sqq.* [or viii. pp. 166-174].

LIV.

WE find but few historians, of all ages, who have been diligent enough in their search for truth; it is their common method to take on trust what they distribute to the public; by which means a falsehood once received from a famed writer becomes traditional to posterity. But Polybius weighed the authors from whom he was forced to borrow the history of the times immediately preceding his, and oftentimes corrected them, either by comparing them each with other, or by the lights which he had received from ancient men of known integrity amongst the Romans, who had been conversant in those affairs which were then managed, and were yet living to instruct him. He also learned the Roman tongue, and attained to that knowledge of their laws, their rights, their customs, and antiquities, that few of their own citizens understood them better; having gained permission from the senate to search the Capitol, he made himself familiar with their records, and afterwards translated them into his mother tongue.

Thucydides, i. 20, *sqq.*, 138.

LV.

I AM well aware of the great difficulty of giving liveliness to a narrative which necessarily gets all its facts second-hand. And a writer who has never been engaged in any public transactions either of peace or war, must feel this especially. One who is himself a statesman and orator, may relate the political contests even of remote ages with something of the spirit of a contemporary; for his own experience realizes to him in great measure the scenes and the characters which he is describing. And in like manner, a soldier or a seaman can enter fully into the great deeds of ancient warfare; for although in outward form ancient battles and sieges may differ from those of modern times, yet the genius of the general, and the courage of the soldier, the call for so many of the highest qualities of our nature, which constitutes the enduring moral interest of war, are common alike to all times; and he who has fought under Wellington has been in spirit an eyewitness of the campaigns of Hannibal. But a writer whose whole experience has been confined to private life and to peace, has no link to connect him with the actors and great deeds of ancient history, except the feelings of our common humanity.

Thucydides, i. 21, 22.

LVI.

AND though I had a desire to have deduced this history from the beginning of our first kings, as they are delivered in their catalogue; yet finding their actions uncertainly delivered, and the beginning of all eminent States to be as uncertain as the heads of great rivers; and that idle antiquity, discovering no apparent way beyond their times, have ever delighted to point men out into imaginary tracts of fictions and monstrous originals; I did put off that desire with this consideration, that it is but mere curiosity to look further back into the times past than we can well discern, and whereof we can neither have proof nor profit. Besides, it seemeth that God in His Providence hath bounded our searches within the compass of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient both for example and instruction in the government of men; for had we the particular occurrence of all nations and all ages, it might more stuff, but not better, our understanding. We shall find the same correspondences to hold in the actions of men; virtues and vices the same; though rising and falling according to the worth or weakness of governors; the causes of the ruins and changes of commonwealths to be alike, and the train of affairs carried by the precedent in a course of succession under like figures.

Thucydides, i. 1, 20, 22.

LVII.

His understanding was keen, sceptical, inexhaustibly fertile in distinctions and objections; his taste refined; his sense of the ludicrous exquisite; his temper placid and forgiving, but fastidious, and by no means prone either to malevolence or to enthusiastic admiration. Such a man could not long be constant to any band of political allies. He must not, however, be confounded with the vulgar crowd of renegades. For, though, like them, he passed from side to side, his transition was always in the direction opposite to theirs. He had nothing in common with those who fly from extreme to extreme, and who regard the party which they have deserted with an animosity far exceeding that of consistent enemies. His place was between the hostile divisions of the

community, and he never wandered far beyond the frontiers
either. The party to which he at any moment belonged w
the party which at that moment he liked least, because it w
the party of which at that moment he had the nearest vie
He was therefore always severe upon his violent associat
and was always in friendly relations with his moderate opp
nents. Every faction in the day of its insolent and vindicti
triumph incurred his censure; and every faction, when va
quished and persecuted, found in him a protector.

Thucydides, iii. 82; vi. 15; viii. 68. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 26-30. —
Character of Alexander.

LVIII.

CROMWELL was emphatically a man. He possessed, i
an eminent degree, that masculine and full-grown robus
ness of mind, that equally diffused intellectual health, whicl
if our national partiality does not mislead us, has peculiarl
characterized the great men of England. Never was any rule
so conspicuously born for sovereignty. The cup which ha
intoxicated almost all others sobered him. His spirit, restles
from its own buoyancy in a lower sphere, reposed in majesti
placidity as soon as it had reached the level congenial to i
He had nothing in common with that large class of men wh
distinguish themselves in subordinate posts, and whose inca
pacity becomes obvious as soon as the public voice summon
them to take the lead. Rapidly as his fortunes grew, his min
expanded more rapidly still. Insignificant as a private citizen
he was a great general: he was a still greater prince.

Thucydides, i. 138; viii. 68. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 26-30.

LIX.

NO doubt, in him, as in all men, and most of all in kings,
his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature
upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a

private fortune, which might endow him with moderation, but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers, when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes—rather strong at hand, than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more, if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his foresight, or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was, certain it is, that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes, there being no more matter out of which they grew, could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs, and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like a churchman; and as it was not strange, or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

Thucydides, i. 130, 138. Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 41. *sec.* [or ix. p. 196.]

LX.

BUT the temper of Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet, but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the

most cruel vexations, till a remedy could be found, resem
the patience of stupidity. He seems to have been capabl
resentment, bitter and long-enduring; yet his resentmen
seldom hurried him into any blunder, that it may be dou
whether what appeared to be revenge was anything but pol
The effect of this singular equanimity was, that he always
the full command of all the resources of one of the most fe
minds that ever existed. Accordingly, no complication
perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For every d
culty he had a contrivance ready; and whatever may
thought of the justice and humanity of some of his c
trivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve
purpose for which they were designed. Together with t
extraordinary talent for devising expedients, he possess
another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situatio
we mean the talent for conducting political controversy.

Thucydides, viii. 68. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 26-30.

LXI.

HANNIBAL was still a young man—born in 505, ar
now, therefore, in his twenty-ninth year; but his li
had already been fraught with varied experience. His fir
recollections pictured to him his father fighting in a dista
land and conquering on Ercte; he shared that unconquere
father's fortunes, and sympathized with his feelings, on th
peace of Catulus, on the bitter return home, and througho
the horrors of the Libyan war. While still a boy, he had fo
lowed his father to the camp, and he soon distinguished him
self. His light and firmly-built frame made him an excellen
runner and boxer, and a fearless rider; the privation of slee
did not affect him, and he knew like a soldier how to enjo
or to want his food. Although his youth had been spent i

the camp, he possessed such culture as was bestowed on the noble Phœnicians of the time ; in Greek, apparently after he had become a general, he made such progress, under the guidance of his intimate friend Sosilus of Sparta, as to be able to compose state-papers in that language. As he grew up, he entered the army of his father, to perform his first feats of arms under the paternal eye, and to see him fall in battle by his side.

Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 22, *sqq.* [or ix. p. 192, *sqq.*]

LXII.

THE greatness of Pericles is unquestioned : his honesty cannot, we think, be reasonably questioned. The charge of having governed by a system of corruption, through the distribution of the public money in fees to the citizens, is fully though indirectly refuted by the emphatic eulogy of Thucydides. It is to be observed, however, on the other hand, that though the noblest and best of demagogues, he was still a demagogue, not exempt from the necessities of the class : and that if he was able to restrain his countrymen from the wild career of distant conquest into which they launched after his death, it was only by identifying himself thoroughly with their selfish and unscrupulous system of aggrandizement in the Ægean. To prepare the way for his personal dictatorship, he overthrew the last conservative institution of Athens. He left nothing but himself above or beside that fierce democracy which he could wield, but to which his feebler successors were compelled to pander. And it may well be doubted whether the ruin which followed his decease was not a condemnation of his general policy, while it was an attestation of his personal probity and genius. Had he never lived, the development of Athens would have been slower and healthier, and in all probability her life would have been prolonged: but the life thus prolonged would have been less intense, and less fruitful in works of intellect: and posterity owes too much to the Periclean era to scrutinize too narrowly the acts of Pericles.

Thucydides, ii. 65; viii. 89. Isocrates, *de Pace*, 126 [or viii. p. 180].

II.—RHETORICAL.

I.

I AM not surprised that the fertile genius I see opposite me has hit upon this scheme; there is nothing new in it; it has ever been a part of the tactics of an oligarchy to ally itself to the lower sections of a democracy. It was so in the course of the French Revolution, and it is recorded over and over again in the annals of other countries. I say I am not the least surprised at this; but what I am surprised at, is that you, the gentlemen of England, you, with all you have at stake, you, with your ancestry behind you and your posterity before you, with your great estates, with your titles, with your honour, with the amount of imperial prosperity, happiness, and dignity, such as never before fell to the lot of any class in the world, —that you will fling away all this without, as far as I can see, the shadow of an equivalent of any kind. Do you look for an equivalent in any personal good? Your interests are diametrically opposed to the course you are pursuing. Is it for the good of the country? Have you so totally unlearned the simplest lessons as to believe that it is by going into the depths of poverty and ignorance that we are to find wisdom to manage the delicate affairs of this great empire! I believe you have, and by so doing you have branded yourselves with a stigma that your party can never escape from.

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 158 [iii. 76]; 208 [iii. 83]; 235 [iii. 87].
Demosthenes, *de Corona*, [247].

II.

BEFORE men are put forward into the great trusts of the State, they ought by their conduct to have obtained such a degree of estimation in their country, as may be some sort of pledge and security to the public that they will not abuse those trusts. It is no mean security for a proper use of power, that a man has shown, by the general tenor of his actions, that the affection, the good opinion, the confidence of his fellow-citizens have been among the principal objects of his life; and that he has owed none of the degradations of his power or fortune to a settled contempt for, or occasional forfeiture of, their esteem.

That man who, before he comes into power, has no friends, or who coming into power is obliged to desert his friends, or who losing it has no friends to sympathize with him, he who has no sway among any part of the landed or commercial interest, but whose whole importance has begun with his office, and is sure to end with it—is a person who ought never to be suffered by a controlling parliament to continue in any of those situations which confer the lead and direction of all our public affairs, because such a man has no connexion with the interest of the people.

Those knots or cabals of men who have got together, avowedly without any public principle, in order to sell their conjunct iniquity at a higher rate, and are therefore universally odious, ought never to be suffered to domineer in the State, because they have no connexion with the sentiments and opinions of the people.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 340 [xviii. 317]; 393 [xviii. 331].
Æschines, *in Ctes.* 168 [iii. 77]; 248 [iii. 89].

III.

I BELIEVE, sir, it will not be denied for a moment, that the general voice is for peace, immediate peace, if possible; the necessity of peace is felt throughout the country, both in this House and out of it. But I am sorry to say that there is a degree of careless indolence and supineness that pervades all ranks of the people, which to my mind is the worst symptom of the declining liberty of a country. Look to the universal sentiment the victories of Bonaparte have produced in the city: the people are elated; they receive the news with satisfaction, and feel that it is to the defeat of our allies alone that they can look forward for an alleviation of their calamities. If the people have suffered by the continuance of the war, it is to themselves they must look as the cause of their sufferings. They feel the distresses of the war: they will not say, 'We will have peace,' but are content to receive it as a boon from the enemy, through the disgrace of our allies. I know the people have only to meet in a constitutional way, and express their determination to have peace in order to obtain it: but no, they wait till they receive it by the defeat and loss of honour of those with whom we are allied in the prosecution of the war. It is this supineness that I consider as a symptom of the decay of the spirit which once characterized the country. There never was a period when there appeared so little public virtue, so little independence of mind as at present: it is to rescue it from such apathy that I make this motion.

Demosthenes, *Philipp.* i. 9 [iv. 42]; i. 46 [iv. 51]; *Olynth.* [ii. 23]; *Timocrat.* [711]. Isocrates, *de Pace*, 20 [viii. 162].

IV.

THE right honourable gentleman pleads in excuse for his conduct that he never promised us success. He says, 'We are good ministers, we have taken the most likely steps to promote the welfare of the country: but we have been disappointed, and things have turned out differently from what there was reason to expect.' When I have shown that every ground on which he has built has failed, and all his reasonings and predictions were erroneous, what kind of language is it for a minister to talk of his promises? When he, whom he lately boasted of as being a magnanimous and affectionate ally, has abandoned our cause, and is on the brink of hostilities with us: when those troops, which, he said, would do more than supply the place of the Russians, are almost all cut to pieces, and the dominions of their prince in the power of the enemy; when the French armies, which he represented as completely disorganized and incapable of being recruited, are triumphing in every direction, and presenting a most formidable aspect to the whole of Europe; when the Austrians, whose triumphs were so highly extolled, who were affirmed to be in a state to continue their victorious career, and who were said to be unanimous with ourselves, have lost the whole of Italy, tremble for their capital, refuse to enter into a treaty with us, and are probably at this moment treating with the French; when that character which was abused and vilified, and loaded with every epithet of reproach, has shone forth with unexampled splendour, and given proofs of almost every excellence: the right honourable gentleman comes down with a puny, sorry, childish, pitiful excuse, and says he made no promises. What! is he not to be blamed for having been deficient of intelligence: for having despised advice; for having acted without deliberation and foresight; for having persisted in a system unjustifiable, impolitic, and ruinous, because he did not promise us success? He stands convicted of complete inability or gross misrepresentation. If he really believed what he said, he is destitute of that penetration, sagacity, and soundness of judgment which are indispensably necessary to a minister. If he was conscious of the real state of affairs, and foresaw the events which were likely to happen, and yet talked with confidence of victory, and obstinately persisted in the contest, no epithet of reproach and condemnation is too strong to be applied to him.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 314 [xviii. 311]; 378 [xviii. 327].
Æschines, *in Ctes.* 49 [iii. 60]; 99 [iii. 67]; 137 [iii. 73].

V.

BUT, it is said, we have preserved our constitution. How have we preserved it? So careful have ministers been of its preservation, that they are afraid to give us the use of it. They have considered it as some choice thing, which ought to be put out of sight and carefully locked up. I hope, sir, the constitution is only suspended, and that we shall yet see it in all its splendour: but till that time comes, I can give no one any credit for his attentions to it. Sir, peace must be concluded, or it must be proved that the period of fraud, prevarication, and insincerity is over, and that a new system of things is about to commence. If I am asked whether I expect that ministers will ever make peace with sincerity, I answer, No! In some circumstances I can conceive that they may conclude a peace which might be preferable to this destructive war; and I believe that they will ere long be compelled to conclude one of some kind or other. But that they will ever be authors of a peace which will heal the wounds the war has inflicted, which will soothe national animosity, which will justify a reduction of our forces, which will render it possible to lighten the oppressive load of taxes, that they will make a peace of conciliation, I confess that I have no hope. I do not say that there is but one man in the kingdom capable of making a solid peace. God forbid! I believe that there are many. But I do not scruple to say that a solid peace can be concluded only upon the principles of that one man. Who that man is, it is needless for me to mention, and his principles are equally well known.

Demosthenes, *de Pace*, 24 [v. 63].
Isocrates, *de Pace*, 32 [viii. 164]; 64 [viii. 169].

VI.

BUT I think an important lesson is to be learnt from the arrogance of Bonaparte. He says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, an envoy of God. He says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to restore Switzerland to happiness, and to elevate Italy to splendour and importance. Sir, I think he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to make the English love their constitution the better; to cling to it with more fondness; to hang round it with truer tenderness. Every man feels when he returns from France that he is coming from a dungeon to enjoy the light and life of British independence. Sir, whatever abuses exist, we shall still look with pride and pleasure upon the substantial blessings we still enjoy. I believe too, sir, that he is an instrument in the hand of Providence to make us more liberal in our political differences, and to render us determined with one hand and heart to oppose any aggressions that may be made upon us. If that aggression be made, my honourable friend will, I am sure, agree with me, that we ought to meet it with a spirit worthy of these islands: that we ought to meet it with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country which has achieved such greatness, has no retreat in littleness: that if we could be content to abandon everything, we should find no safety in poverty, no security in abject submission. Finally, sir, that we ought to meet it with a fixed determination to perish in the same grave with the honour and independence of the country.

Demosthenes, *Philip.* i. 48, *sqq.* [iv. 52]; *De Corona*, 119 [xviii. 258]; 261, *sqq.* [xviii. 297].
Thucydides, i. 140.

VII.

I KNOW that it has been asserted by the advocates of the right honourable gentleman out of doors that that reply was complete: but sure I am that no man in this house who heard it ever thought it so, and least of all was it so thought by my right honourable friend himself, who delivered it. I admire the talents of my right honourable friend as much as any man, yet, upon the occasion alluded to, I could not help observing the difficulty he had to struggle with: the embarrassed and staggering course he made; I was conscious that my right honourable friend felt that he had very little to say to the purpose: that he was sailing against wind and tide: that although the puff of a cheer from his friends sometimes produced a slight swell in his sails, he could make but little progress: that he raised his voice aloud, but produced no impression: that he dropped argument and produced a noise: that, in fact, he made a fine catamaran speech, plenty of noise, but little mischief to his adversary at least. What mischief he may have done to the system he would support, I cannot pretend to say.

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 17 [iii. 56]; 99, *sqq.* [iii. 67]; 230 [iii. 86];
De Falsa Legatione, 37, *sqq.* [ii. 32, *sub finem*].

VIII.

NEW-COMERS among the nations, you desire, like the rest, to have a history. You seek it in Indian annals, you seek it in Northern sagas. You fondly surround an old windmill with the pomp of Scandinavian antiquity in your anxiety to fill up the void of your unpeopled past. Bu have a real and glorious history if you will not reject monuments genuine and majestic, if you will acknow them as your own. Yours are the palaces of the Plantage —the cathedrals which enshrined our old religion,—the trious hall in which the long line of our great judges reare their decisions the fabric of our law,—the grey college which our intellect and science found their earliest hom the graves where our heroes and sages and poets sleep. would as ill become you to cultivate narrow national memo in regard to the past as it would to cultivate narrow nati prejudices at present. You have come out, as from o relics of barbarism which still oppress Europe, so from barbarism of a jealous nationality. You are heirs to all wealths of the Old World, and must owe gratitude for a of your heritage to Germany, France, and Spain, as well as England. Still, it is from England that you are sprung : fr her you brought the power of self-government, which was talisman of colonization and the pledge of your empire he She it was, that, having advanced by centuries of effort to front of the Old World, became worthy to give birth to New.

Isocrates, *Philip.* 34 [Orat. v. 88].

IX.

PLACET igitur mihi, patres conscripti, legionis Mart militibus et eis qui una pugnantes occiderunt monume tum fieri quam amplissimum. Magna atque incredibilia su in rempublicam hujus merita legionis. Hæc se prima latr cinio abrupit Antonii, hæc tenuit Albam, hæc se ad Cæsare contulit, hanc imitata Quarta legio parem virtutis gloriam co secuta est. Quarta victrix desiderat neminem : ex Mart nonnulli in ipsa victoria conciderunt. O fortunata mors, qu

naturæ debita pro patria est potissimum reddita! Vos vero patriæ natos judico, quorum etiam nomen a Marte est, ut idem deus urbem hanc gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga fœda mors est, in victoria gloriosa: etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet. Illi igitur impii quos cecidistis etiam ad inferos pœnas parricidii luent: vos vero qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti. Brevis a natura nobis vita data est, at memoria bene redditæ vitæ sempiterna. Quæ si non esset longior quam hæc vita, quis esset tam amens qui maximis laboribus et periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque contenderet? Actum igitur præclare vobiscum, fortissimi dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites, quod vestra virtus neque oblivione eorum qui nunc sunt, nec reticentia posterorum insepulta esse poterit, quum vobis immortale monumentum suis pœne manibus senatus populusque Romanus exstruxerit. Multi sæpe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis, Italicis bellis clari et magni fuerunt; nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum est. Atque utinam majora possemus, quandoquidem a vobis maxima accepimus! Vos ab urbe furentem Antonium avertistis: vos redire molientem repulistis. Erit igitur exstructa moles opere magnifico incisæque literæ, divinæ virtutis testes sempiternæ: nunquam de vobis eorum qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum aut audient gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali conditione vitæ immortalitatem estis consecuti.

Plato, *Menexenus.* Thucydides, ii. 43.
Demosthenes, *Epitaph.* 34 [Or. lx. 1397] [1399].
Lysias, *Epitaph.* 77 [ii. 198].

X.

WE have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper

that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Thucydides, ii. 42, *sqq.* Plato, *Menexenus*, viii. ix. xviii.
Demosthenes, *Epitaph.* 20, *sqq.* [ix. 1393].

XI.

WHILE you have everything to fear from the success of the enemy, you have every means of preventing that success, so that it is next to impossible for victory not to crown your exertions. The extent of your resources, under God, is equal to the justice of your cause. But should Providence determine otherwise, should you fall in this struggle, should the nation fall, you will have the satisfaction (the purest allotted to man) of having performed your part; your names will be enrolled with the most illustrious dead, while posterity to the end of time, as often as they revolve the events of this period (and they will incessantly revolve them) will turn to you a reverential eye, while they mourn over the freedom which is entombed in your sepulchre. I cannot but imagine the virtuous heroes, legislators, and patriots of every age and country, are bending from their elevated seats to witness this contest, as if they were incapable, till it be brought to a favourable issue, of enjoying their eternal repose. Enjoy that repose, illustrious immortals! Your mantle fell when you ascended: and thousands inflamed with your spirit, and impatient to tread in your steps, are ready to swear by Him that sitteth on the throne, and liveth for ever and ever, that they will protect freedom in her last asylum, and never desert that cause, which you sustained by your labours, and cemented with your blood.

Thucydides, ii. 41-46. Demosthenes, *Epitaph.* 20, *sqq.* [lx. 1394].
Lysias, *in Eratosthen*, 99 [xii. 128].

XII.

THERE is only one cure for the evils which newly-acquired freedom produces; and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day; he is unable to discriminate colours or recognise faces. But the remedy is not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinion subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend, and begin to coalesce: and at length a system of justice and order is educed out of chaos.

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever.

Isocrates, *Paneg.* 175, *sqq.* [iv. 72].
Demosthenes, *de Rhod. Libert.* 15, *sqq.* [xv. 195].

XIII.

IT does, sir, often happen that a case may be so clear, and so notorious, so open to every man's observation, that a public statement of the grounds upon which it is required to adopt strong measures, may be both futile and unnecessary. Such a case is the present: and yet gentlemen come here and tell us that we require of them to pass an act of this great importance without any reason assigned for it! What, sir, are the reasons, the strong reasons, that exist at this moment? We are engaged in a war with a powerful and active enemy, whose object professedly is to destroy the constitution, and overturn the liberties of the British Empire. His attention is in the first instance directed towards Ireland, where his emissaries are perpetually at work, by means of correspondence and otherwise, to sow disloyalty and sedition. His object is the invasion and destruction of this country, and to attain it his preparations have been carried on with unremitted vigour, and at this moment are not abandoned. Our fleets are now employed in blockading in their harbours the vessels of our enemy, which, if it were not for their care and vigilance, would sail with an army to attempt to carry his threats into instant execution. To assist him in this plan, those who have fled from their own country, perhaps for crimes of different sorts, have been embodied and formed into a kind of regiment. They are the instruments which he employs to prepare the way for the execution of his purposes. They maintain a correspondence with the disaffected in their own country, and employ every means to spread the flame of rebellion over their unfortunate country : unfortunate for having been the birth-place of persons who seem so little to understand or consult her true and permanent interests. They have given occasion to the melancholy insurrections which our times have witnessed in that kingdom. To say that these are not reasons for the measure now proposed to be adopted, is tantamount to saying that no facts of any kind can be a reason for it.

Demosthenes, *Philip.* iii. 64, *sqq.* [ix. 124] ; *Chersones.* 38, *sqq.* [viii. 99] ; 62 [viii. 104] ; *De Corona*, 363, *sqq.* [xviii. 323.]

XIV.

THE honourable gentleman seldom condescends to favou us with a display of his extraordinary powers of imagination and of fancy : but when he does come forward, we are prepared for a grand performance. No subject comes amiss to him, however remote from the question before the house. All that his fancy suggests at the moment, or that he has collected from others,—all that he can utter in the ebullition of the moment,—all that he has slept on and matured, are combined and produced for our entertainment. All his hoarded repartees—all his matured jests—the full contents of his common-place book—all his severe invectives—all his bold, hardy assertions—all that he has been treasuring up for days, for weeks, and months, he collects into one mass, which he kindles into a blaze of eloquence, and out it comes all together—whether it has any relation to the subject in debate or not. Thus it is with his usual felicity that the honourable gentleman finds a new argument for the repeal of the present bill; because the house and the country have less confidence in the present than even in the late ministers. Whether I possess that confidence or not, certainly this is not the mode of determining it. But, sir, it is rather whimsical, that at the very moment the honourable gentleman is saying that I do not *now* possess the confidence of Parliament and the country, he is paying me an involuntary compliment by owning that at least I formerly enjoyed that confidence. It is, however, rather unfortunate, that there is not a single opprobrious epithet that the honourable gentleman has now employed against me, which on almost every disputed point he did not lavish on me at that very period when he allows I possessed the confidence of Parliament and the country.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 14, *sqq.* [xviii. 229]; 286, *sqq.* [xviii. 303]; 302 [xviii. 307]; 381 [xviii. 328.]

XV.

UNDER this impression we thought it our duty to attempt negotiation, not from the sanguine hope, even at that time, that its result could afford us complete security, but from the persuasion that the danger arising from peace under such circumstances was less than that of continuing the war with precarious and inadequate means. The result of those negotiations proved that the enemy would be satisfied with nothing less than the sacrifice of the honour and independence of the country. From this conviction, a spirit and enthusiasm was excited in the nation, which produced the efforts to which we are indebted for the subsequent change in our situation. Having witnessed that happy change, having observed the increasing prosperity and security of the country from that period, seeing how much more satisfactory our prospects now are than any which we could then have derived from the successful result of negotiation, I have not scrupled to declare that I consider the rupture of the negotiation, on the part of the enemy, as a fortunate circumstance for the country. But because these are my sentiments at this time, after reviewing what has since passed, does it follow that we were, at that time, insincere in endeavouring to obtain peace? The learned gentleman, indeed, assumes that we were; and he even makes a concession, of which I desire not to claim the benefit; he is willing to admit that, on our principles, and our view of the subject, insincerity would have been justifiable.| I know, sir, no plea that would justify those who are intrusted with the conduct of public affairs, in holding out to Parliament and to the nation one object, while they were, in fact, pursuing another. I did, in fact, believe, at the moment, the conclusion of peace (if it could have been obtained) to be preferable to the continuance of the war under its increasing risks and difficulties. I therefore wished for peace; I sincerely laboured for peace. Our endeavours were frustrated by the act of the enemy. If, then, the circumstances are since changed, if what passed at that period has afforded a proof that the object we aimed at was unattainable, and if all that has passed since has proved that, if peace had been then made, it could not have been durable, are we bound to repeat the same experiment, when every reason against it is strengthened by subsequent experience, and when the inducements which led to it at that time have ceased to exist?

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 26 [xviii. 232]; 111 [xviii. 255]; 305 [xviii. 308].

XVI.

AFTER the truce was concluded, say they, after the meeting of the Princes; yea, and afore that, the King's majesty was left out of the packing indeed: whereof I sent him the copy of the conclusions and chapters of the peace, wherein he was not mentioned, contrary to the Emperor's promise and to the French King's letters. Since we knew all three the same, it is likely that after this I would use the future tense in that was past, and 'shall,' ye 'shall see,' and then, 'if he be so, by God's blood he is well served,' and then, 'I would he were so.' It is more like I should say, that 'he is left out of the cart's tail, and by God's blood, he is well served, and I am glad of it.' By this you may perceive that either they lie in the time and the place, or else in the reporting the thing.

But because I am wont sometimes to rap out an oath in an earnest talk, look how craftily they have put in an oath to the matter, to make the matter seem mine: and because they have guarded a naughty garment of theirs with one of my naughty guards, they will swear and face me down, that that was my garment. But bring me my garment as it was. If I said a like thing, rehearse my tale as I said it. No man can believe you that I meant it as you construe it; or that I speak it as you allege it; or that I understand English so evil to speak so out of purpose. Therefore the time, the place, and other men's saying upon the same matter bewray your craft and your falsehood. It well appeareth that you have a toward will to lie, but that you lacked in the matter practice or wit: for, they say, 'He that will lie well must have a good remembrance, that he agree in all points with himself, lest he be spied.'

Demosthenes, *de Falsa Legat.* 50, *sqq.* [xix. 355]; 117, *sqq.* [xix. 373].

XVII.

IN that great war carried on for near eighteen years, Government spared no pains to satisfy the nation that, though they were animated by a desire of glory, glory was not their ultimate object: but that everything dear to them in religion, in law, in liberty, everything which, as freemen, as Englishmen, and as citizens, they had at heart, was then at stake. This was to know the true art of gaining the affections and confidence of an high-minded people. This was to understand human nature. A danger to avert a danger—a present inconvenience and suffering to prevent a foreseen future and a worse calamity—these are the motives that belong to an animal, who, in his constitution, is at once adventurous and provident, circumspect and daring: whom his Creator has made, as the poet says, 'of large discourse, looking before and after.' But never can a vehement and sustained spirit of fortitude be kindled in a people by a war of calculation. It has nothing that can keep the mind erect under the gusts of adversity. Even where men are willing, as sometimes they are, to barter their blood for lucre, to hazard their safety for the gratification of their avarice, the passion which animates them to that sort of conflict, like all the short-sighted passions, must see its objects distinct and near at hand.

Isocrates, *Paneg.* 84, *sqq.* [Orat. iv. 56]; 108, *sqq.* [iv. 60].

XVIII.

ALL around us the world is convulsed by the agonies of great nations. Governments which lately seemed likely to stand during ages have been on a sudden shaken and overthrown. The proudest capitals of Western Europe have streamed with civil blood. All evil passions, the thirst of gain and the thirst of vengeance, the antipathy of class to class, the antipathy of race to race, have broken loose from the control of divine and human laws. Fear and anxiety have clouded the faces and depressed the hearts of millions. Trade has been suspended, and industry paralysed. The rich have become poor; and the poor have become poorer. Doctrine hostile to all sciences, to all arts, to all industry, to a domestic charities, doctrines which, if carried into effec would, in thirty years, undo all that thirty centuries have don for mankind, and would make the fairest provinces of Franc and Germany as savage as Congo or Patagonia, have bee avowed from the tribune and defended by the sword. Europ has been threatened with subjugation by barbarians, compare with whom the barbarians who marched under Attila an Alboin were enlightened and humane. The truest friends the people have with deep sorrow owned that interests mor precious than any political privileges were in jeopardy, an that it might be necessary to sacrifice even liberty in order t save civilisation. Meanwhile in our island the regular cours of government has never been for a day interrupted.

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 132 [iii. 72]. Demosth. *de Corona* [311, 19].

XIX.

BUT the question for us all—the question for every educate man who is not anxious to shirk his social and civi duties—is, 'Who is responsible?' We answer that the intell gent middle-classes of this great city are themselves to blame that on them lie the shame and the guilt of all the brutalit committed by their inferiors. Shame and guilt are hard word no doubt, to cast at the respectable British householders wh read these lines by the fireside, and consider themselves pa terns of propriety; but, hard as they are, we dare not retrac them. The time has come for the stern truth to be told; th time has come when epicurean indifference must be brande as a crime. If we read, day after day, of miserable outcast dying in the streets—if we read, day after day, of lon agonies of destitution and exposure to the elements— be it recollected that it is not the legislation of Englan which is at fault, but the method of its administration. The sin is personal, not national. Until the guardians are selected from a more liberal and a better-educated class, the enormities which now seem like a cynical satire upon our vaunted civilisation will continue. 'But is the refined British householder to mix in parish politics, to attend the meetings of the vestry, to take a seat upon the local board, and to dispute with his butcher or his cheesemonger about the details of parochial management?' Exactly so; *that* is precisely what he has to do. 'But he will meet with abuse, misconstruction, and slander for his pains; he will be libelled, nicknamed, vilified, and insulted!' Undoubtedly; *that* is precisely the treatment he will receive; and what of it? This; that an educated English gentleman ought to be able to hold his own in any companionship whatever; that in a matter of duty it is mean to count the cost, and that it *is* a matter of duty to protect the poor.

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* iii. 38 [iii. 37]; *Philipp.* i. 9 [iv. 42]; i. 44 [iv. 51]; *Chersones.* 32 [viii. 97].

XX.

THAT such a retrospect may, in most cases, be wise and salutary, is a proposition which will hardly be denied. It is evident that our appeal to experience is the best guard to future conduct, and that it may be necessary to probe the nature of the misfortune, in order to apply a suitable remedy. But in a question so momentous and interesting to the country, as undoubtedly the present question must be, if it can be deemed expedient to run out into a long retrospective view of past calamities, surely it must be far more so to point out the mode by which their fatal effects may be averted, and by proving the origin of the evils complained of, to judge of the nature and efficacy of the remedies to be applied. Whatever,

therefore, our present situation may be, it certainly cannot b
wise to fix our attention solely on what is past, but rather t
look to what still can, and remains to be done. This is mor
naturally the subject that should be proposed to the discus
sion of a deliberative assembly.

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* iii. 16 *seq.* [iii. 32].

XXI.

PROFESSIONS of patriotism are become stale and ridicu
lous. For my own part, I claim no merit from endea
vouring to do a service to my fellow-subjects. I have done i
to the best of my understanding ; and without looking for th
approbation of other men, my conscience is satisfied. Wha
remains to be done concerns the collective body of the people
They are now to determine for themselves, whether they wil
firmly and constitutionally assert their rights, or make ar
humble, slavish surrender of them at the feet of the ministry
To a generous mind there cannot be a doubt. We owe it to
our ancestors to preserve entire these rights which they have
delivered to our care : we owe it to our posterity not to suffer
their dearest inheritance to be destroyed. But if it were pos
sible for us to be insensible of these sacred claims, there is yet
an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which nothing can
acquit us--a personal interest, which we cannot surrender.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 259 [xviii. 296].

XXII.

BUT youth, sir, is not my only crime. I have been
accused of acting a theatrical part. A theatrical part
may either imply some peculiarities of gesture, or a dissimula-
tion of my real sentiments, and an adoption of the opinions

and language of another man. In the first sense, sir, the charge is too trifling to be repeated, and deserves only to be mentioned that it may be despised. I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language; and though perhaps I may have more ambition to please this gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, nor very solicitously copy his diction or his mien, however matured by age or modelled by experience. But if any man shall, by charging me with theatrical behaviour, imply that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator and a villain; nor shall any protection shield him from the treatment he deserves. I shall on such an occasion, without scruple, trample upon all those forms with which wealth and dignity intrench themselves; nor shall anything but age restrain my resentment: age, which always brings one privilege, that of being insolent and supercilious without punishment.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 14 [xviii. 229]; 161 [xviii. 269]; 291 [xviii. 305].

XXIII.

REHEARSE the law: declare, my Lords, I beseech you, the meaning thereof. Am I a traitor because I spake with the king's traitor? No, not for that; for I may bid him 'Avaunt, traitor!' or 'Defy him, traitor.' No man will take this for treason. But where he is holpen, counselled, advertised by my word, there lieth the treason, there lieth the treason. In writing it is like: in message it is like: for I may send him both letter and message of challenge or defiance. But in any of these the suspect is dangerous: therefore whosoever would do any of these things, I would advise him that it appear well. And yet neither God's law, nor man's law, nor no equity condemneth a man for suspects: but for such a suspect, such a word or writing, that may be so apparent by conjectures, or success of things afterwards, by vehement likelihoods, by conferring of things, and such like, that it may be a grievous matter.

But whereto do I declare this point? it is far out of my case. For if I ever spake word to him beyond the sea, and yet to my remembrance but once on this side: or if ever I wrote to him, or if I ever sent him word or message, I confess the action: let it be imputed to me for treason.

Antiphon, *Herod.* 57 [Orat. v. 136].
Andocides, *de Myster.* 29, *sqq.* [Orat. i. 5].

XXIV.

AS if war was a matter of experiment! As if you could take it up or lay it down as an idle frolic! As if the dire goddess that presides over it, with her murderous spear in hand, and her gorgon at her breast, was a coquette to be flirted with! We ought with reverence to approach that tremendous divinity, that loves courage, but commands counsel. War never leaves where it found a nation. It is never to be entered into without mature deliberation; not a deliberation lengthened out into a perplexing indecision, but a deliberation leading to a sure and fixed judgment. When so taken up, it is not to be abandoned without reason as valid, as fully, and as extensively considered. Peace may be made as unadvisedly as war. Nothing is so rash as fear; and the councils of pusillanimity very rarely put off, whilst they are always sure to aggravate, the evils from which they would fly.

Thucydides, iv. 62; i. 80, *sqq.*

XXV.

OUR hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government, they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of force to tear them from your allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have: the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest, freedom they can have from none but you.

Thucydides, i. 34; iii. 46, 47.

XXVI.

THAT he has an interest in making peace is at best but a doubtful proposition, and that he has an interest in preserving it is still more uncertain. That it is his interest to negotiate I do not indeed deny: it is his interest above all to engage this country in separate negotiation, in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the Continent, to palsy at once the arms of Russia or of Austria, or of any other country that might look to you for support: and then either to break off his separate treaty, or if he should have concluded it, to apply the lesson which is taught in his school of policy in Egypt: and to revive at his pleasure those claims of indemnification which may have been reserved to some happier period. This is precisely the interest which he has in negotiation: but on what grounds are we to be convinced that he has an interest in concluding and observing a solid and permanent pacification? Under all the circumstances of his personal character, and his newly acquired power, what other security has he for retaining that power but the sword? His hold upon France is the sword, and he has no other. Is he connected with the soil, or with the habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the country? He is a stranger, a foreigner, and an usurper: he unites in his own person everything that a pure Republican must detest, everything that a sincere Royalist must feel as an insult. If he is opposed at any time in his career, what is his appeal? 'He appeals to his fortune;' in other words, to his army and his sword. Placing, then, his whole reliance upon military support, can he afford to let his warlike renown pass away, to let his laurels wither, to let the memory of his achievements sink in obscurity?

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* i. 13, *sqq.* [i. 12]; ii. 5-9 [ii. 19]; ii. 14, *sqq.* [ii. 23]. *Philipp.* i. *passim*; *de Corona*, 82, *sqq.* [xviii. 247].

XXVII.

MY LORDS, if it were here the law, as hath been in some commonwealths, that in all accusations the defendant should have double the time to say and defend that the accusers have in making their accusements, and that the defendant might detain unto him counsel, then might I well spare some of my leisure to move your lordships' hearts to be favourable unto me; then might I by counsel help my truth, which, by mine own wit, I am not able against such a prepared thing. But inasmuch as that time, that your lordships will favourably give me without interruption, I must spend to instruct without help of counsel their consciences that must pronounce upon me; I beseech you only, at the reverence of God, whose place in judgment you occupy, and whom you ought to have where you are before your eyes, that you be not both my judges and my accusers: that is to say, that you aggravate not my cause unto the quest, but that alone unto their requests or unto mine, which I suppose to be both ignorant in the law, ye interpret the law sincerely. For although it be these men that must pronounce upon me; yet I know right well what a small word may, of any of your mouths that sit in your place, avail to these men that seeketh light at your hands. This done, with your lordships' leaves, I shall convert my tale unto those men.

Demosthenes, *de Corona* 1, *sqq.*, [xviii. 226].
Andocides, *de Myst.* 8, *sqq.* [Orat. i. 2].

XXVIII.

OF the points that I am accused of, to my perceiving, these be the two marks whereunto mine accusers direct all their shot of eloquence: a deed, and a saying. After this sort, in effect, is the deed alleged with so long words, 'Wyatt in so great trust with the King's Majesty that he made him his embassador, and for whom his Majesty hath done so much, being embassador hath had intelligence with the King's rebel and traitor, Pole.' Touching the saying amounteth to this much:—'That same Wyatt, being also embassador, maliciously, falsely, and traitorously said, "That he feared that the King

should be cast out of a cart's tail, and that by God's bloo
it were so, he were well served, and he would it were s
The sole apparel of the rest of all this process pertaineth
the proofs of the one or other of these two points. Bu
these two points appear unto you to be more than false, m
ciously invented, craftily disguised, and worse set forth, I do
not but the rest of their proof will be but reproofs in e
honest man's judgment. But let us come to the matter.
here I beseech you, if any of you have brought with
already my judgment by reason of such tales as ye have he
of me abroad, that ye will leave all such determination as
and only weigh the matter as it shall be here apparent u
you. And besides that, think, I beseech you, that if it
sufficient for the condemnation of any man, to be accused o
that then there is no man guiltless. But if for condemna
is requisite proof and declaration, then take me as not
condemned, till thoroughly advisedly and substantially ye h
heard and marked my tale.

Andocides, *de Myst.* 1, *sqq.* [Orat. i. 1-2].
Æschines, *in Ctes.* 59, *sq.* [iii. 62].

XXIX.

I SAY unto you, my good masters and Christian breth
that if I might have had such help as I spake of to
lords before, counsel and time, I doubt not but I should f
have satisfied your conscience and have persuaded you.
that may not be. Therefore I must answer directly to
accusation, which will be hard for me to remember. The
cusation comprehendeth the indictment, and all these wors
ful men's tales annexed thereunto. The length whereof,
cunning whereof, made by learned men, weaved in and ou
persuade you, and trouble me here and there, to seek
answer that is in the one afore, and in the other behind,

both deceive you and amaze me, if God put not in your heads honest wisdom to weigh these things as much as it ought to be. So to avoid the danger of your forgetting, and my trouble in the declaration, it is necessary to gather the whole process into these chief points, and unto them to answer directly, whereby ye shall perceive what be the principals, and what be the effects which these men craftily and wittingly have weaved together, that a simple man might hardly try the one from the other. Surely but that I understand mine own matter, I should be too much to seek and accumbered in it. But, masters, this is more of law than of equity, of lying than of uprightness, with such intricate appearances to blind men's consciences: specially in case of man's life, where always the naked truth is the goodliest persuasion. But to purpose.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 10, *sqq.* [xviii. 228]. Antiphon, *Tetralog.* B. β. 1 [Orat. iii. 121]. Demosthenes, *Proœm.* 5 [1422, 15], 12 [1426, 14].

XXX.

THESE men think it enough to accuse; and all these as slanderers use for a general rule, 'Whom thou lovest not, accuse: for though he heal the wound, the scar shall remain.'

But you will say unto me, 'What is it to thy declaration, whether these men have offended or no? Thou confessest, that thou consentedst to his going to the King's traitor: how avoidest thou that? What didst thou mean by that, or what authority hadst thou so to do?'

This is it that I would ye should know, good masters, as well as God knoweth: and it shall be clear enough anon, without suspect unto you.

But first if that suspect should have been well and lawfully grounded before it had come as far as accusation: there should have been proved between Pole and me kin, acquaintance,

familiarity, or else accord of opinions, whereby it might app
that my consent to Mason's going to him should be
naughty purpose: or else there should have been brou
forth some success since, some letters, if none of mine, at
least of some others, some confession of some of his adhere
that have been examined or suffered.

Antiphon, περὶ τοῦ χορ. 8 (Orat. vi. 142. 8).

XXXI.

BUT now to the other part of my accusation, touching
saying. For the love of our Lord weigh it substa
tially, and yet withall remember the naughty handling of
accusers in the other point: and in this you shall see no le
maliciousness, and a great deal more falsehood.

And first let us handle the matter as though I had so sai
except only that same 'falsely, maliciously, and traitorousl
withall. Were it so, I had said the words: yet it remaine
unproved (but take it not that I grant them, for I mean n
so), but only that I had so said. Rehearse here the la
of words: declare, my lords, I beseech you, the meanin
thereof. This includeth that words maliciously spoken,
traitorously against the King's person, should be taken fo
treason. It is not meant, masters, of words which despise th
King lightly, or which are not all the most reverently spoke
of him, as a man should judge a chace against him at the tenni
wherewith he were not all the best contented: but such word
as bear open malice, or such words as persuade commotions
or seditions, or such things. And what say my accusers i
these words? Do they sware I spake them traitorously o
maliciously? I dare say they be shameless enough: yet hav
they not so deposed against me. Read their depositions
they say not so. Confer their depositions, if they agree wor

for word. That is hard, if they were examined apart, unless they had conspired more than became faithful accusers. If they misagree in words and not in substance, let us hear the words they vary in; for in some little thing may appear the truth, which, I dare say, you seek for conscience' sake.

Lysias, Orat. viii. p. 112. Demosthenes, *de Cor.* ii. *sqq.* [xviii. 228].

XXXII.

WHENEVER the supreme authority is vested in a body so composed, it must evidently produce the consequences of supreme authority placed in the hands of men not taught habitually to respect themselves; who had no previous fortune in character at stake; who could not be expected to bear with moderation, or to conduct with discretion, a power, which they themselves, more than any others, must be surprised to find in their hands. Who could flatter himself that these men, suddenly, and, as it were, by enchantment, snatched from the humblest rank of subordination, would not be intoxicated with their unprepared greatness? Who could conceive that men, who are habitually meddling, daring, subtle, active, of litigious dispositions and unquiet minds, would easily fall back into their old condition of obscure contention, and laborious, low, and unprofitable chicane? Who could doubt but that, at any expense to the State, of which they understood nothing, they must pursue their private interests which they understood but too well? It was an event depending on chance or contingency. It was inevitable; it was necessary; it was planted in the nature of things. They must join (if their capacity did not permit them to lead) in any project which could procure to them a litigious constitution; which could lay open to them those innumerable lucrative jobs, which follow in the train of all great convulsions and revolutions in the

State, and particularly in all great and violent permutations property. Was it to be expected that they would attend the stability of property, whose existence had always depend upon whatever rendered property questionable, ambiguo and insecure? Their objects would be enlarged with th elevation, but their disposition and habits, and mode of complishing their designs, must remain the same.

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* ii. 17 [ii. 23]; iii. 33 [iii. 36.]
Plato, *Theæt.* 172, C.

XXXIII.

DIFFERENT stations of command may call for differe modifications of this fortitude, but the character oug to be the same in all. And never, in the most palmy state our martial renown, did it shine with brighter lustre than the present sanguinary and ferocious hostilities, wherever th British arms have been carried. But in this most arduous an momentous conflict, which from its nature should have rouse us to new and unexampled efforts, I know not how it has bee that we have never put forth half the strength which we hav exerted in ordinary wars. In the fatal battles which hav drenched the Continent with blood, and shaken the system o Europe to pieces, we have never had any army of a magnitud to be compared to the least of those by which in former time we so gloriously asserted our place as protectors, not oppressors, at the head of the great commonwealth of Europe. We have never manfully met the danger in front: and when the enemy, resigning to us our natural dominion of the ocean, and abandoning the defence of his distant possessions to the infernal energy of the destroying principles, which he had planted there for the subversion of the neighbouring colonies, drove forth by one sweeping law of unprecedented despotism, his armed multitudes on every side, to overwhelm the countries and states which had for centuries stood the firm barriers against the ambition of France: we drew back the arm of our military force, which had never been more than half raised to oppose him. From that time we have been combating only with the other arm of our naval power: the right arm of England, I admit; but which struck almost unresisted, with blows that could never reach the heart of the hostile mischief.

Demosthenes, *Philipp.* i. 44, *sqq.* [iv. 51].

XXXIV.

IF wealth is the obedient and laborious slave of virtue and of public honour, then wealth is in its place and has its use: but if this order is changed, and honour is to be sacrificed to the conservation of riches—riches which have neither eyes nor hands, nor anything truly vital in them, cannot long survive the being of their vivifying powers, their legitimate masters and potent protectors. If we command our wealth we shall be rich and free, if our wealth command us we are poor indeed. We are bought by the enemy with the treasure from our own coffers. Too great a sense of the value of a subordinate interest may be the very source of its danger, as well as the certain ruin of interests of a superior order. Often has a man lost his all because he would not submit to hazard all in defending it. A display of our wealth before robbers is not the way to restrain their boldness or to lessen their rapacity. This display is made, I know, to persuade the people of England that thereby we shall awe the enemy, and improve the terms of our capitulation, it is made not that we should fight with more animation, but that we should supplicate with better hopes. We are mistaken. We have an enemy to deal with who never regarded our contest as a weighing and measuring of purses. He is the

Gaul who puts his sword into the scale. He is more tempt
with our wealth as booty, than terrified with it as power. I
let us be rich or poor, let us be either in what proportion
may, nature is false, or this is true, that where the essent
public force, of which money is but a part, is in any degr
upon a par in a conflict between nations, that state which
resolved to hazard its existence rather than abandon its c
jects, must have an infinite advantage over that which
resolved to yield rather than to carry its resistance beyond
certain point. Humanly speaking, that people which boun
its efforts only with its being, must give the law to that nati
which will not push its opposition beyond its convenience.

Demosthenes, *Symmoriæ*, 29 [xiv. 184]; *Chersones*. 53, *sqq*. [viii. 102]
Thucydides, vi. 38.

XXXV.

IN the spirit of that benevolence we sent a gentleman
beseech the Directory of regicide not to be quite
prodigal as their republic had been of judicial murder. W
solicited them to spare the lives of some unhappy persons
the first distinction, whose safety at other times could not ha
been an object of solicitation. They had quitted France c
the faith of the declaration of the rights of citizens. The
never had been in the service of the regicides, nor at the
hands had received any stipend. The very system and const
tution of government that now prevails was settled subs
quently to their emigration. They were under the protectio
of Great Britain, and in his Majesty's pay and service. Not a
hostile invasion, but the disasters of the sea, had thrown the
upon a shore more barbarous and inhospitable than the incle
ment ocean under the most pitiless of its storms. Here wa
an opportunity to express a feeling for the miseries of war
and to open some sort of conversation, which (after our publi

overtures had glutted their pride), at a cautious and jealous distance, might lead to something like an accommodation. What was the event? A strange uncouth thing, a theatrical figure of the opera, his head shaded with three-coloured plumes, his body fantastically habited, strutted from the back scenes, and, after a short speech, in the mock heroic falsetto of stupid tragedy, delivered the gentleman who came to make the representation into the custody of a guard, with directions not to lose sight of him for a moment; and then ordered him to be sent from Paris in two hours.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 161 [xviii. 269]; 302, *sqq*. [xviii. 307].

XXXVI.

THE observation with which the right honourable gentleman concluded his speech, appears to me one of the strangest I ever heard advanced, and first challenges my attention. He defies me to state, in one sentence, what is the object of the war. I know not whether I can do it in one sentence, but in one *word* I can tell him that it is *security*,—security against a danger the greatest that ever threatened the world. It is security against a danger which never existed in any past period of society. It is security against a danger which in degree and extent was never equalled; against a danger which threatened all the nations of the earth; against a danger which has been resisted by all the nations of Europe, and resisted by none with so much success as by this nation, because by none has it been resisted so uniformly, and with so much energy. This country alone of all the nations of Europe, presented barriers the best fitted to resist its progress. We alone recognised the necessity of open war, as well with the principles as the practice of the French revolution. We saw that it was to be resisted no less by arms abroad, than by

precaution at home : that we were to look for protection
less to the courage of our forces than to the wisdom
our councils, no less to military effort than to legislati
enactment.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 73 [xviii. 245] ; 80 [xviii. 247] ; 360 [xviii. 32

XXXVII.

I SHALL now endeavour to follow the honourable gent
man through his argument, as far as I can recollect
upon the important question of the Northern confederac
In following the order which he took, I must begin with h
doubts and end with his certainties : and I cannot avo
observing that the honourable gentleman was singularly u
fortunate upon this subject, for he entertained doubts whe
there was not the slightest ground for hesitation : and he co
trives to make up his mind to absolute certainty, upon poin
in which both argument and fact are decidedly against hi
That part of the question upon which the honourable gentl
man appears to be involved in doubt, is with respect to th
justice of our claim in regard to neutral vessels. In commen
ing upon this part of the subject, the honourable gentlema
gave us a lesson in politics, which is more remarkable for i
soundness than its novelty, viz., that a nation ought not t
enforce a claim that is not founded in justice, and that nothin
would be found to be consistent with true policy that was n
conformable to strict justice. There is, sir, in general a degre
of modesty in doubting that conciliates very much, and a ma
is seldom inclined to bear hard upon an antagonist whos
attack does not exceed the limits of a doubt. But, sir, whe
a gentleman doubts that which has been indisputably esta
lished for more than a century—when he doubts that whic
has been an acknowledged principle of law in all the tribunal

of the kingdom, which are alone competent to decide upon the subject, and which Parliament has constantly known them to act upon—when he doubts principles which the ablest and wisest statesmen have uniformly adopted—I say, sir, the doubt that calls in question principles so established without offering the slightest ground for so doing, shows a great deal of that pert presumption which, as often as modesty, leads to scepticism.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 69 [xviii. 244]; 117 [xviii 257]; 156, *sqq.* [xviii. 268]; 161 [xviii. 269].

XXXVIII.

I SHALL not expatiate on the formidable power of Philip as an argument to urge you to the performance of your public duty. That would be too much both of compliment to him and of disparagement to you. I should, indeed, myself have thought him truly formidable, if he had achieved his present eminence by means consistent with justice. But he has aggrandized himself, partly through your negligence and improvidence, partly by treacherous means—by taking into pay corrupt partisans at Athens, and by cheating successively Olynthians, Thessalians, and all his other allies. These allies, having now detected his treachery, are deserting him; without them, his power will crumble away. Moreover, the Macedonians themselves have no sympathy with his personal ambition; they are fatigued with the labour imposed upon them by his endless military movements, and impoverished by the closing of their ports through the war. His vaunted officers are men of worthless and dissolute habits; his personal companions are thieves, vile ministers of amusement, outcasts from our cities. His past good fortune imparts to all this real weakness a fallacious air of strength; and doubtless his good fortune has been very great. But the fortune of Athens, and her title to the benevolent aid of the gods, is still grea —if only you, Athenians, will do your duty. Yet here y are, sitting still, doing nothing. The sluggard cannot ev command his friends to work for him—much less the gods.

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* ii. 3, *sqq*. [ii. 18].

XXXIX.

I DO not wonder that Philip, always in the field, always i movement, doing everything for himself, never lettin slip an opportunity—prevails over you, who merely talk inquire, and vote, without action. Nay—the contrary would be wonderful—if, under such circumstances, he had *not* been the conqueror. But what I do wonder at is, that you Athenians—who in former days contended for Pan-hellenic freedom against the Lacedæmonians—who, scorning unjust aggrandisement for yourselves, fought in person and lavished your substance to protect the rights of other Greeks—that *you* now shrink from personal service and payment of money for the defence of your own possessions. You, who have so often rescued others, can now sit still, after having lost so much of your own! I wonder you do not look back to that conduct of yours which has brought your affairs into this state of ruin, and ask yourselves how they can ever mend, while such conduct remains unchanged. It was much easier at first to preserve what we once had, than to recover it now that it is lost; we have nothing now left to lose—we have everything to recover. This must be done by ourselves, and at once; we must furnish money, we must serve in person by turns; we must give our generals means to do their work well, and then exact from them a severe account afterwards—which we cannot do, so long as we ourselves will neither pay nor serve.

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* ii. 23, *sq*. [ii. 24].

XL.

A CONSCIENTIOUS man would be cautious how he dealt in blood. He would feel some apprehension at being called to a tremendous account for engaging in so deep a play without any sort of knowledge of the game. It is no excuse for presumptuous ignorance that it is directed by insolent passion. The poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man. But I cannot conceive any existence under heaven (which in the depths of its wisdom tolerates all sorts of things) that is more truly odious and disgusting than an impotent helpless creature without civil wisdom or military skill, without a consciousness of any other qualification for power but his servility to it, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight, contending for a violent dominion which he can never exercise, and satisfied to be himself mean and miserable in order to render others contemptible and wretched.

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 209, *sqq.* [iii. 83, 84]; 99, *sqq.* [iii. 67].

XLI.

LOOK, gentlemen, to the whole tenour of your member's conduct. Try whether his ambition or his avarice have jostled him out of the straight line of his duty; or whether that grand foe of the offices of active life, that master vice in men of business, a degenerate and inglorious sloth—has made him flag and languish in his course. This is the object of our inquiry. If our member's conduct can bear this touch, mark it for sterling. He may have fallen into errors; he must have faults; but our error is greater, and our fault is radically ruinous to ourselves, if we do not bear with, if we do not even applaud, the whole compound and mixed mass of su a character. Not to act thus is folly: I had almost said, it impiety. He censures God who quarrels with the imperfe tions of men. Gentlemen, we must not be peevish with tho who serve the people. For none will serve us whilst there a court to serve, but those who are of a nice and jealo honour. They who think everything, in comparison of th honour, to be dust and ashes, will not bear to have it soile and impaired by those for whose sake they make a thousan sacrifices to preserve it immaculate and whole. We sha either drive such men from the public stage, or we shall sen them to the court for protection; where, if they must sacrific their reputation, they will at least secure their interest.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 305, *sqq.* [xviii. 308]; 341, *sqq.* [xviii. 318]; 317, *sqq.* [xviii. 311].

XLII.

AFTER such an elaborate display had been made of th injustice and insolence of an enemy, who seems t have been irritated by every one of the means which had bee commonly used with effect to soothe the rage of intemperat power, the natural result would be, that the scabbard in whic we in vain attempted to plunge our sword, should have bee thrown away with scorn. It would have been natural that rising in the fulness of their might, insulted majesty, despise dignity, violated justice, rejected supplication, patience goade to fury, would have poured out all the length of the reins upo all the wrath which they had so long restrained. It migh have been expected that, emulous of the glory of the youthfu hero in alliance with him, touched by the example of wha one man, well formed and well placed, may do in the most desperate state of affairs, convinced there is a courage of the cabinet full as powerful, and far less vulgar than that of the field, our minister would have changed the whole line of that useless prudence, which had hitherto produced all the effects of the blindest temerity. If he found his situation full of danger (and I do not deny that it is perilous in the extreme), he must feel that it is also full of glory, and that he is placed on a stage, than which no muse of fire that had ascended the highest heaven of invention, could imagine anything more awful and august. It was hoped that, in this swelling scene in which he moved, with some of the first potentates of Europe for his fellow-actors, and with so many of the rest for the anxious spectators of a part, which, as he plays it, determines for ever their destiny and his own, like Ulysses in the unravelling point of the epic story, he would have thrown off his patience and his rags together; and stripped of unworthy disguises, he would have stood forth in the form and in the attitude of a hero.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 372, *sqq.* [xviii. 326]; *De Falsa Legat.* 360, *sqq.* [xix. 442].

XLIII.

ON that day it was thought he would have assumed the port of Mars; that he would bid to be brought forth from their hideous kennel (where his scrupulous tenderness had too long immured them), those impatient dogs of war, whose fierce regards affright even the minister of vengeance who feeds them; that he would let them loose in famine, fever, plagues, and death upon a guilty race, to whose frame, and to whose habit, all order, peace, religion, and virtue are alien and abhorrent. It was expected that he would at last have thought of actual and effective war; that he would no longer amuse the British lion in the chase of mice and rats; that he would no longer employ the whole naval power of Great Britain, once the terror of the world, to prey upon the miserable remains of a peddling commerce, which the enemy did not regard, and from which none could profit. It was expected that he would have reasserted the justice of his cause; that he would have re-animated whatever remained to him of his allies, and endeavoured to recover those whom their fears had led astray; that he would have rekindled the martial ardour of his citizens: that he would have held out to them the example of their ancestry, the assertor of Europe, and the scourge of French ambition; that he would have reminded them of a posterity, which, if this nefarious robbery, under the fraudulent name and false colour of a government, should in full power be seated in the heart of Europe, must for ever be consigned to vice, impiety, barbarism, and the most ignominious slavery of body and mind.|| In so holy a cause, it was presumed that he would (as in the beginning of the war he did) have opened all the temples; and with prayer, with fasting, and with supplication (better directed than to the grim Moloch of regicide in France), have called upon us to raise that united cry which has so often stormed heaven, and with a pious violence forced down blessings upon a repentant people. It was hoped that when he had invoked upon his endeavours the favourable regard of the Protector of the human race, it would be seen that his menaces to the enemy, and his prayers to the Almighty, were not followed, but accompanied, by correspondent action. It was hoped that his shrilling trumpet should be heard not to announce a show, but to sound a charge.

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 210, *sqq.* [iii. 84]. Demosth. *de Falsa Legat.* 183, *sqq.* [xix. 393]; 330, *sqq.* [xix. 433]; 389, *sqq.* [xix. 449]; *de Corona*, 231 [xviii. 288]; 254 *sqq.* [xviii. 294].

XLIV.

FOR what have I entered into all this detail? To what purpose have I recalled your view to the end of the last century? It has been done to show that the British nation was then a great people—to point out how and by what means they came to be exalted above the vulgar level, and to take that lead which they assumed among mankind. To qualify us for that pre-eminence, we had then a high mind, and a constancy unconquerable; we were then inspired by no flashy passions, but such as were durable as well as warm, such as corresponded to the great interests we had at stake. This force of character was inspired, as all such spirit must ever be, from above. Government gave the impulse. As well may we fancy, that of itself the sea will swell, and that without winds the billows will insult the adverse shore, as that the gross mass of the people will be moved and elevated, and continue by a steady and permanent direction to bear upon one point, without the influence of superior authority or superior mind. This impulse ought, in my opinion, to have been given in this war, and it ought to have been continued to it at every instant. It is made, if ever war was made, to touch all the great springs of action in the human breast. It ought not to have been a war of apology. The minister had in this conflict wherewithal to glory in success; to be consoled in adversity, to hold high his principle in all fortunes. If it were not given him to support the falling edifice, he ought to bury himself under the ruins of the civilized world. All the art of Greece, and all the pride and power of Eastern monarchs, never heaped upon their ashes so grand a monument.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 181 [xviii. 275]; 222 [xviii. 285]; 254, *sqq.* [xviii. 294, *sqq.*]; 258 [xviii. 296]; *Olynthiac*, 34 [iii. 36]; *Philipp.* iii. 46 [ix. 120]. Isocrates, *Panathen.* 148, *sqq.* [xii. 261].

XLV.

HOW comes it that in all the state prosecutions of magnitude from the Revolution to within these two or three years, the crown has scarcely ever retired disgraced and defeated from its courts? Whence this alarming change? By

a connection easy to be felt, and not impossible to be tr
all the parts of the state have their correspondence and
sent. They who bow to the enemy abroad will not
power to subdue the conspirator at home. It is impossibl
to observe that, in proportion as we approximate t
poisonous jaws of anarchy the fascination grows irresis
In proportion as we are attracted to the focus of illeg
irreligion, and desperate enterprise, all the venomous
blighting insects of the state are awakened into life.
promise of the year is blasted and shrivelled and burne
before them. Our most salutary and most beautiful in
tions yield nothing but dust and smut; the harvest of ou
is no more than stubble. It is in the nature of these eru
diseases in the state to sink in by fits and reappear. Bu
fuel of the malady remains, and in my opinion is not i
smallest degree mitigated in its malignity, though it wait
favourable moment of a freer communication with the s
of regicide to exert and to increase its force.

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 3 [iii. 54]; 191, *sqq.* [iii. 81].
Demosthenes, *Chersones.* 62 [viii. 104]; *Philipp.* iii. 37 [ix. 11

XLVI.

IS it that the people are changed, that the commonw
cannot be protected by its laws! I hardly think it.
the contrary, I conceive that these things happen because
are not changed, but remain always what they always w
they remain, what the bulk of us ever must be, when aband
to our vulgar propensities, without guide, leader, or con
that is, made to be full of a blind elevation in prosperity
despise untried dangers; to be overpowered with unexpe
reverses; to find no clew in a labyrinth of difficulty; to ge
of a present inconvenience with any risk of future ruin
follow and to bow to fortune; to admire successful th

wicked enterprise, and to imitate what we admire; to contemn the government which announces danger from sacrilege and regicide whilst they are only in their infancy and struggle, but which finds nothing that can alarm in their adult state, and in the power and triumph of those destructive principles. In a mass we cannot be left to ourselves, we must have leaders. If none will undertake to lead us right, we shall find guides who will contrive to conduct us to shame and ruin.

Demosthenes, *Philipp.* iii. 75 [ix. 127]; iv. 7, *sqq.* [x. 132]; ii. 7 [vi. 67]; iv. 23, *sqq.* [x. 136].

XLVII.

NO theatric audience at Athens would bear what has been borne in the midst of the real tragedy of this triumphal day: a principal actor weighing, as it were hung in a shop of horrors, so much actual crime against so much contingent advantage, and after putting in and out weights declaring that the balance was on the side of the advantages. They would not bear to see the crimes of new democracy posted as in a ledger against the crimes of old despotism, and the book-keepers of politics finding democracy still in debt, but by no means unable or unwilling to pay the balance. In the theatre the first intuitive glance without any elaborate process of reasoning will show that this method of political calculation would justify every extent of crime. They would see that on these principles, even where the very worst acts were not perpetrated, it was owing rather to the fortune of the conspirators than to their parsimony in the expenditure of treachery and blood. They would soon see that criminal means, once tolerated, are soon preferred. They present a shorter cut to the object than through the highway of the moral virtues. Justifying perfidy and murder for public benefit, public benefit would soon become the pretext, and perfidy and murder the end.

until rapacity, malice, revenge, and fear more dreadful
revenge could satiate their insatiable appetites, such mu
the consequence of losing, in the splendour of these triu
of the rights of men, all natural sense of wrong and right

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 153 [iii. 75]. Demosth. *de Corona*, 288 [xviii.
c. Aristogeiton [Orat. xxv. 784]. Isocrates, *Panathen.* 129 [xii. 2

XLVIII.

AMONG the heaviest prices to be paid for freedo
speech is the rein we must give to a knot of pr
sional agitators. No one hears of these men when thing
quiet; they have neither the intellect nor the culture to r
themselves felt by virtue of personal superiority. But le
have a season of excitement, and out they come from obsc
to ride on the wave of popular tumult. Is the church
posed to be in danger? Does the Government forbid
public parks to be turned into a debating society for the
sion of political nonsense? is somebody in power to be
nounced? or does any one dare to take the part of a w
man against a black? then these pigmy rhetoricians,
more lung than brain, and more impudence than wit, are
people to mount the rostrum. Tell them to be calm, and
will call you hard-hearted: hint that depravity does no
necessity go hand in hand with office, and they will br
you as the corrupt underling of a faction. Maintain tha
British governor should not any more than a prisoner in
old Bailey be condemned unheard, and the reply is that y
plea is the sum of political wickedness. That is the kind
man, bigoted, fanatical, one-idea'd, and nothing if not vitu
rative—with whom the portion of the public which loves
tice more than creeds, and fair-play more than prejudices,
to contend when it claims a hearing for the Governor and
associates. If he is guilty let him be condemned, but do

hold him guilty until you prove it, until you ascertain what he has to say for himself.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 252 [xviii. 294]; 378, *sqq.* [xviii. 327]; *Chersones.* 74 [viii. 107]; *Philipp.* iii. 1 [ix. 110].

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XLIX.

I CAN more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity than the sound judgment of any man who prefers a republican form of government in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country. Yet, though I hope the English constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchical form, I would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican. I do not mean the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot. I mean a general attachment to the common weal, distinct from any particular attachment to persons or families; an implicit submission to the law only, and an affection to the magistrate proportioned to the integrity and wisdom with which he distributes justice to his people, and administers their affairs. The present habit of our political body appears to me the very reverse of what it ought to be. The form of the constitution leans rather more than enough to the popular branch, while in effect the manners of the people (of those at least who are likely to take a lead in the country) incline too generally to a dependence upon the Crown.

Lysias, Orat. xxxiv. Isocrates, *Panathen.* 143, *sqq.* [xii. 260, 261].

L.

YOU had not been forty-eight hours in India—your feet were scarcely dry from the surf of Madras—before you thought fit to declare, that if you had your own way, in two

years' time not a court of English law should exist in I
We heard this, and from that hour took the measure of
mind, of your legislative capacity, of your political imparti
of your wisdom and moderation : we knew you for our en
for the enemy of every institution that stood in the pat
your own power ; we saw that you came hither to follow
your own interests, to conciliate perchance the Company
had offended, a pledged partisan to do an appointed w
We waited for you, we heard of the extravagant indiscretio
your conversation, and we foresaw that with such a ple
power as you possessed of being ridiculous, you would with
fail make yourself in your laws a public laughing-stock. T
it has been and thus it will be again, till the termination
your political career may leave you more leisure to turn
tory into ephemeral party pamphlets, and to polish ess
which posterity will have no occasion to forget.

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 219, *sqq.* [iii. 85] ; 225 [iii. 86] ; 145 [iii. 74].
Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 190 [xviii. 277].

LI.

BURKE has described in striking language the change
public feeling of which we speak. 'It suggests mela
choly reflections,' says he, 'in consequence of the stran
course we have long held, that we are now no longer quarr
ling about the character, or about the conduct of men, or t
tenor of measures ; but we are grown out of humour with t
English constitution itself ; this is become the object of t
animosity of Englishmen. This constitution in former da
used to be the envy of the world : it was the pattern for poli
cians : the theme of the eloquent, the meditation of the phil
sopher in every part of the world. As to Englishmen, it w
their pride, their consolation. By it they lived, and for it the
were ready to die. Its defects, if it had any, were part

covered by partiality, and partly borne by prudence. Now all its excellencies are forgot, its faults are forcibly dragged into day, exaggerated by every artifice of misrepresentation. It is despised and rejected of men: and every device and invention of ingenuity or idleness is set up in opposition, or in preference to it.'

Isocrates, *Areopag.* 66 [vii. 151]; 81, *sqq.* [vii. 155].

LII.

A NATION, once the foremost among the nations, pre-eminent in knowledge, pre-eminent in military glory, the cradle of philosophy, of eloquence, and of the fine arts, had been for ages bowed down under a cruel yoke. All the vices which oppression generates, the abject vices which it generates in those who submit to it, the ferocious vices which it generates in those who struggle against it, had deformed the character of that miserable race. The valour which had won the great battle of human civilisation, which had saved Europe, which had subjugated Asia, lingered only among pirates and robbers. The ingenuity, once so conspicuously displayed in every department of physical and moral science, had been depraved into a timid and servile cunning. On a sudden, this degraded people had risen on their oppressors. Discountenanced or betrayed by the surrounding potentates, they had found in themselves something of that which might well supply the place of all foreign assistance, something of the energy of their forefathers.

Isocrates, *Panegyric.* 40 [iv. 48]; 50, *sqq.* [iv. 49]; 152, *sqq.* [iv. 68].

LIII.

A PEOPLE whose education and habits are such, that, in every quarter of the world, they rise above the mass of those with whom they mix, as surely as oil rises to the top of water; a people of such temper and self-government, that the wildest popular excesses recorded in their history partake of the gravity of judicial proceedings, and of the solemnity of religious rites; a people whose national pride and mutual attachment have passed into a proverb; a people whose high and fierce spirit, so forcibly described in the haughty motto which encircles their thistle, preserved their independence, during a struggle of centuries, from the encroachments of wealthier and more powerful neighbours,—such a people cannot be long oppressed. Any government, however constituted, must respect their wishes, and tremble at their discontents. It is indeed most desirable that such a people should exercise a direct influence on the conduct of affairs, and should make their wishes known through constitutional organs. But some influence, direct or indirect, they will assuredly possess. Some organ, constitutional or unconstitutional, they will assuredly find. They will be better governed under a good constitution than under a bad constitution. But they will be better governed under the worst constitution than some other nations under the best.

Isocrates, *Panegyric* 100, *sqq.*; 103, *sqq.* [iv. 59, 60].

LIV.

THUS sprang into existence and into note a reptile species of politicians never before and never since known in our country. These men disclaimed all political ties, except those which bound them to the throne. They were willing to coalesce with any party, to abandon any party, to undermine any party at a moment's notice. They regarded the several leaders without one sentiment either of predilection or of aversion. They were the King's friends. It is to be observed that this friendship implied no personal intimacy. They never hunted with him in the morning, or played cards with him in the evening; never shared his mutton, or walked with him among his turnips. Only one or two of them ever saw his face, except on public days. The whole band, however, always had early and accurate information as to his personal inclinations. These people were never high in the administration. They were generally to be found in places of much emolument, little labour, and no responsibility; and these places they continued to occupy securely while the cabinet was six or seven times reconstructed.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 57, *sqq*. [xviii. 241]; *Olynth.* ii. 17 [ii. 23]; *De Falsa Legat.* 293 [xix. 424].

LV.

WE are dealing not merely with the administration, not merely with a party—no, not even with the constitution of the kingdom. To our hands at this moment is intrusted the noble and sacred future of free and self-determined government all over the world. We are about to surrender certain good for more than doubtful change; we are about to barter maxims and traditions that have never failed for theories and doctrines that never have succeeded. Democracy you may have at any time. Night and day the gate is open that leads to that bare and level plain, where every ant's nest is a mountain, and every thistle a forest tree. But a government such as England has, a government the work of no human hand, but which has grown up the imperceptible aggregation of centuries—this is a thing which we only can enjoy, which we cannot impart to others, and which once lost we cannot recover for ourselves. Because you have contrived to be at once dilatory and hasty heretofore, that is no reason for pressing forward rashly and improvidently now.

We are not agreed upon details, we have not come to any accord upon principles. To precipitate a decision in the case of a single human life would be cruel. It is more than cruel—it is parricide in the case of the constitution, which is the life and soul of this great nation. If it is to perish, as all human things must perish, give it at any rate time to gather its robe about it, and to fall with decency and deliberation.

Isocrates, *Archidamus*, 103, *sqq*. [vi. 134, *sqq*.]
Demosthenes, *Olynth*. i. 5 [i. 10].

LVI.

I HAVE now traced, sir, as well as I can, what I believe will be the natural results of a measure which, it seems to my poor imagination, is calculated, if it should pass into law, to destroy one after another those institutions which have secured for England an amount of happiness and prosperity which no other country has ever reached, or is ever likely to attain. Surely the heroic work of so many centuries, the matchless achievements of so many wise heads and strong hands, deserve a nobler consummation than to be sacrificed at the shrine of revolutionary passion, or the maudlin enthusiasm of humanity. But if we do fall, we shall fall deservedly. Uncoerced by any external force, not borne down by any internal calamity, but in the full plethora of our wealth, and the surfeit of our too exuberant prosperity; with our own rash and inconsiderate hands, we are about to pluck down on our own heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our glory. History may tell of other acts as signally disastrous, but of none more wanton, none more disgraceful.

Thuc. ii. 37, 43. Lysias [Orat. xxxiv. 918]. Isocrates, *Pan*. 163 [xii. 264].

LVII.

I NEVER doubted that democracy was a terrible warlike power. It is not the educated and reflective who are influenced by mere ideas, but the half educated, and the un-reflective; and if you show the ignorant, and poor, and half-educated wrong, injustice, and wickedness anywhere, their generous instincts rise within them, and nothing is easier than to get up a cry for the redress of those grievances. We feel the injustice too; but we look not merely at the injustice itself, we look before and after, we look at the collateral circumstances, at what must happen to trade, revenue, and our position in the world, and we look also at what must happen to those very poor persons themselves before we commit ourselves to a decided course. Persons also who have something to lose are less anxious to lose it, than those who have little at stake often, even though these last may be by the loss reduced to absolute poverty. Wherever cruelty or injustice exists, the feelings of the humbler class of Englishmen, to their honour be it spoken, revolt against it: and not possessing the quality of circumspection, their impulse is to go straight at the wrong and redress it, without regard to ulterior consequences. Therefore to suggest that in making the institutions of the country more democratic, we have any security from war—that we do not greatly increase the risk of war, seems to me supremely ridiculous.

Thucydides, iii. 37. Isocrates, *Panathen.* 140, *sqq.* [xii. 260]. Demosthenes, *de Falsa Legat.* 149 [xix. 383].

LVIII.

DEMAGOGUES are the commonplace of history. They are to be found wherever popular commotion has prevailed, and they all bear to one another a strong family likeness. Their names float lightly on the stream of time; they are in some way handed down to us, but then they are as little regarded as is the foam which rides on the crest of the stormy wave, and bespatters the rock which it cannot shake. Such men, sir, I do not fear; but I have, I confess, some misgivings

when I see a number of gentlemen of rank, of character, o
property, and intelligence, carried away without being con
vinced or even over-persuaded, in the support of a polic
which many of them in their inmost hearts detest and abhor
Monarchies exist by loyalty, aristocracies by honour, popula
assemblies by political virtue and patriotism, and it is in th
loss of those things, and not in comets and eclipses that we
are to look for the portents that herald the fall of states.

Isocrates, *de Pace*, 147 [viii. 183]; 155 [viii. 185].
Demosthenes, *Leptin.* 16 [xx. 461].

LIX.

IS it the result of our experience, looking at America and at the democratic institutions there, whatever merits they may have, that the people are jealous of the moral character of their representatives? Did you ever hear of a man who was ostracised from public life in America in consequence of his having committed a murder, a forgery, a perjury, or anything of that kind? Things which would not be tolerated for an instant in England, are passed by without notice in America. For, however impetuous and impatient democratic constituencies may be of the acts of their members in matters where their prejudices are affected, they are singularly loose in their requirements in other respects.

Isocrates, *de Permut.* [xv. 295, *sqq.*] Æschines, *in Ctes.* 168, *sqq.* [iii. 78].
Demosth. *Philipp.* iii. 49 [ix. 121]; *de Falsa Legat.* 149 [xix. 383].

LX.

IT is for the House to decide whether in supporting this measure we have judged on good grounds. If any man thinks he sees the means of bringing the contest to an earlier termination than by vigorous effort and military operations, he is justified in opposing the measures which are necessary to carry it on with energy. Those who consider the war to be expedient, cannot with consistency refuse their assent to measures calculated to bring it to a successful issue. Even those who may disapprove of the contest, which they cannot prevent by their votes, cannot honestly pursue that conduct which could tend only to render its termination favourable to the enemy. God forbid I should question the freedom of thought, or the liberty of speech! but I cannot see how gentlemen can justify a language and a conduct which can have no tendency but to disarm our exertions and to defeat our hopes in the prosecution of the contest. They ought to limit themselves to those arguments which could influence the House against the war altogether, not dwell upon topics which tend only to weaken our efforts and betray our cause. Above all, nothing can be more unfair in reasoning than to ally the present scarcity with the war, or to insinuate that its prosecution will interfere with those supplies which we may require.

Demosthenes, *Philipp.* iii. *ad fin.* [ix. 130]; iv. 28, *sqq.* [x. 137].

LXI.

IN proposing to the House the permanent establishment of the army of reserve, though certainly on a very modified system, I am sensible that objections may be readily started against the proposition. But, sir, let it be remembered that the times in which we live are not ordinary times. When we are called to encounter extraordinary and unprecedented dangers, we must lay our account to submitting to extraordinary and unprecedented difficulties. If we are called on to undergo great sacrifices, we must bear in mind the interesting objects which these sacrifices may enable us to defend and to secure. I need not remind the House that we are come to a new era in the history of nations, that we are called to struggle for the destiny, not of this country alone, but of the civilized world. We must remember that it is not for ourselves alone that we submit to unexampled privations. We have for ourselves the great duty of self-preservation to perform; but the duty of the people of England now is of a nobler and higher order. We are in the first place to provide for our safety against a foe whose malignity to this country knows no bounds: but this is not to close our views or our efforts in so sacred a cause. Amid the wreck and the misery of nations it is our just boast that we have continued superior to all that ambition or despotism could effect, and our still higher boast ought to be, that we provide not only for our own safety, but hold out a prospect to nations now bending under the iron yoke of tyranny, of what the exertions of a free people can effect, and that at least in this corner of the world the name of liberty is still cherished and sanctified.

Æschines, *in Ctes.* 132, *sqq.* [iii. 72]. Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 119, *sqq.* [xviii. 258]; 257, *sqq.* [xviii. 296]; *Philipp.* iv. 69 [x. 147].

LXII.

IF we had seen all the subordinate instruments of Jacobin power subsisting in their full force, and had then observed this single change in the conduct of their affairs, that there was now one man, with no rival to thwart his measures, no colleague to divide his powers, no council to control his operations, no expression of public opinion to check or influence his conduct, under such circumstances should we be wrong to pause and wait for the evidence of facts and experience before we consented to trust our safety to the forbearance of a single man, in such a situation, and to relinquish those means of defence which have hitherto carried us safe through all the storms of the Revolution! if we were to ask what are the principles and character of this stranger to whom France has suddenly committed the concerns of a great and powerful nation?

But is this the actual state of the present question? Are we talking of a stranger of whom we have heard nothing? No, sir, we have heard of him: we and Europe and the world have heard both of him and of the satellites by whom he is surrounded: and it is impossible to discuss fairly the propriety of any answer which could be returned to his overtures of negotiation without considering the inferences to be drawn from his personal character and conduct. I know it is the fashion with some gentlemen to represent any reference to topics of this nature as invidious and irritating, but the truth is, they rise unavoidably out of the nature of the question.

Demosthenes, *Olyn.* ii. 3, *sqq.* [ii. 19, 20, 21]; *Phil.* i. 12, *sqq.* [iv. 42, *sqq.*]; ii. 7, *sqq.* [vi. 67]; iii. 20 [ix. 114]; iii. 57 [ix. 123]; *Cher.* 38 [viii. 99].

III.—PHILOSOPHICAL.

I.

'BUT a question further,' said he—'Can the husbandman work, think you, without his tools? Must he not have his plough, his harrow, his reap-hook, and the like?' 'He must.' 'And must not those other artists too be furnished in the same manner?' 'They must.' 'And whence must they be furnished? From their own arts? Or are not the making tools and the using them two different occupations?' 'I believe,' said I, 'they are.' 'You may be convinced,' said he, 'by small recollection. Does Agriculture make its own plough, its own harrow, or does it not apply to other arts for all necessaries of this kind?' 'It does.' 'Again, does the baker build his own oven, or the miller frame his own mill?' 'It appears,' said I, 'no part of their business.' 'What a tribe of mechanics then,' said he, 'are advancing upon us—smiths, carpenters, masons, mill-wrights, and all these to provide the single necessary, Bread. No less than seven or eight arts, we find, are wanting at the fewest.' 'It appears so.' 'And what if to the providing a comfortable cottage, and raiment suitable to an industrious hind, we allow a dozen arts more?' 'It would be easy, by the same reasoning, to prove the number double. I admit the number,' said I, 'mentioned.'

Plato, *Sophist.* 219, 220; *Ion,* 537, c. *sqq.*; *Repub.* 370, c.

II.

MEN fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin, and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto Nature, is weak. By him that spake only as a philosopher, and natural man, it was well said, 'Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa.' Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and the like, show death terrible. It is worthy the observing that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him.

Plato, *Phædo.* 77, 81; *Apolog.* 40.

III.

'LET us therefore at length cease to dispute and learn to live: throw away the incumbrance of precepts which they who utter them with so much pride and pomp do not understand, and carry with us this simple and intelligible maxim, That deviation from nature is deviation from happiness.'

When he had thus spoken, he looked round him with a placid air, and enjoyed the consciousness of his own beneficence. 'Sir,' said the Prince, with great modesty, 'as I, like all the rest of mankind, am desirous of felicity, my closest attention has been fixed upon your discourse. I doubt not the truth of a position which a man so learned has so confidently advanced. Let me only know what it is to live according to nature.'

'When I find young men so humble and so docil
the philosopher, 'I can deny them no information whi
studies have enabled me to afford. To live accordi
nature is to act always with a due regard to the fitness a
from the relations and qualities of causes and effects : to
cur with the great and unchangeable scheme of uni
felicity: to co-operate with the general disposition anc
dency of the present system of things.'

The Prince soon found that this was one of the sages
he should understand less as he heard him longer. He
fore bowed and was silent; and the philosopher, supp
him satisfied and the rest vanquished, rose up and dep
with the air of a man that had co-operated with the pr
system.

Plato, *Protag.* 334, 335.

IV.

'YOU see, then,' said he, 'how well our hypothesis, h
once admitted, tallies with our original pre-concep
of the sovereign good.' I replied, it indeed appeared so,
could not be denied. 'But who, think you, ever dreamt
happiness like this? A happiness dependent, not on the
cess, but on the *aim?*' 'Even common and ordinary life
plied he, 'can furnish us with examples. Ask of the sports
where lies his enjoyment? Ask, whether it be in the *posse*
of a slaughtered hare, or fox? He would reject, with
tempt, the very supposition. He would tell you, as we
he was able, that the joy was in the *pursuit*, in the difficu
which are obviated, in the faults which are retrieved, in
conduct and direction of the chace through all its parts;
the completion of their endeavours was so far from giving t
joy, that instantly at that period all their joy was at an

'For sportsmen,' replied I, 'this may be no bad reasoning.' 'It is not the sentiment,' said he, 'of sportsmen alone. To them we may add the tribe of builders and projectors. Or has not your own experience informed you of numbers who, in the *building* and *laying-out*, have expressed the highest delight, but shown the utmost indifference to the *result* of their labours, to the mansion or gardens, when once finished and complete?'

Plato, *Gorgias*, 499, *sqq.*; 503, *sqq.* Aristotle, *Ethic. Nicom.* i. 1.

V.

M. JUST as sleep is the renovator of corporeal vigour, so I would believe death to be of the mind's: that the body to which it is attached, from habitude rather than from reason, is little else than a disease to our immortal spirit: and that like the remora of which mariners tell marvels, it contracts, as it were, both oar and sail, in the most strenuous advances we can make towards felicity. Shall we lament to feel this reptile drop off? Or shall we not, on the contrary, leap with alacrity on shore, and offer up in gratitude to the gods whatever is left about us uncorroded and unshattered? A broken and abject mind is the thing least worthy of their acceptance.

Q. Brother, you talk as if there were a plurality of gods.

M. I know not and care not how many there may be of them. Philosophy points to unity: but while we are here we speak as those do who are around us, and employ in these matters the language of the country. Italy is not so fertile in hemlock as Greece: yet a wise man will dissemble half his wisdom on such a topic: and I, as you remember, adopting the means of dialogue, have often delivered my opinions in the voice of others, and speak now as custom, not as reason leads me.

Plato, *Phædo.* 66; *Legg.* 885. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 7, 19.

VI.

THE opinions of children and parents, of the young and the old, are naturally opposite, by the contrary effects of hope and despondence, of expectation and experience, without crime or folly on either side. The colours of life in youth and age appear different, as the face of nature in spring and winter. And how can children credit the assertion of parents, which their own eyes show them to be false ?

Few parents act in such a manner as to enforce their maxims by the credit of their lives. The old man trusts only to slow contrivance and gradual progression : the youth expects to force his way by genius, vigour, and precipitance. The old man pays regard to riches, and the youth reverences virtue. The old man deifies prudence : the youth commits himself to magnanimity and chance. The young man who intends no ill, believes that none is intended, and therefore acts with openness and candour ; but his father, having suffered the injuries of fraud, is impelled to suspect, and too often allured to practise it. Age looks with anger on the temerity of youth, and youth with contempt on the scrupulosity of age. Thus parents and children, for the greatest part, live on to love less and less ; and if those whom nature has thus closely united are the torment of each other, where shall we look for tenderness and consolation ?

Plato, *Republic*, 329, *sqq*. Aristotle, *Rhetor*. ii. 12, 13, 14.

VII.

BUT the hopes and fears of man are not limited to this short life, and to this visible world. He finds himself surrounded by the signs of a power and wisdom higher than his own ; and in all ages and nations, men of all orders of intellect have believed in the existence of some superior mind. Thus far the voice of mankind is almost unanimous. But whether there be one God, or many; what may be God's natural, and what His moral attributes; in what relation His creatures stand to Him; whether He have ever disclosed Himself to us by any other revelation than that which is written in all parts of the glorious and well-ordered world which He has made; whether His revelation be contained in any permanent record, how that record should be interpreted, and whether it have pleased Him to appoint any unerring interpreter on earth; —these are questions respecting which there exists the widest diversity of opinion, and respecting some of which a large part of our race has, ever since the dawn of regular history, been deplorably in error.

Plato, *Legg.* 885, *sqq.* Xenophon, *Memor.* i. iv.

VIII.

NOW here are two great objects: one is the protection of the persons and estates of citizens from injury; the other is the propagation of religious truth. No two objects more entirely distinct can well be imagined. The former belongs wholly to the visible and tangible world in which we live: the latter belongs to that higher world which is beyond the reach of our senses. The former belongs to this life; the latter to that which is to come. Men who are perfectly agreed as to the importance of the former object, and as to the way of obtaining it, differ as widely as possible respecting the latter object. We must, therefore, pause before we admit that the persons, be they who they may, who are intrusted with power for the promotion of the former object, ought always to use that power for the promotion of the latter object.

Plato, *Legg.* 890. Xenophon, *Memor.* i. iv

IX.

As man is by nature a social animal, good humour seems an ingredient highly necessary to his character. It is the salt which seasons the feast of life, and which, if wanting, surely renders the feast incomplete. Many causes combine to impair this charming quality : none perhaps more than bad opinions of mankind. These naturally lead us to misanthropy. If they go further and are applied to the universe, they lead to something worse, for they lead to Atheism. The melancholy and morose character being thus insensibly formed, morals and piety decline : for what equals have we to love or what superiors to revere, when we have no other objects left than those of hatred or terror? It should seem then expedient, if we value our better principles, nay our own happiness, to withstand such dreary sentiments.

Aristotle, *Politic.* i. 2 ; iii. 4 ; *Ethic.* iv. 6. Plato, *Phædo.* 89 D.

X.

According to this short and imperfect sketch of human life, the happiest disposition of mind is the *virtuous;* or, in other words, that which leads to action and employment, renders us sensible to the social passions, steels the heart against the assaults of fortune, reduces the affections to a just moderation, makes our own thoughts an entertainment to us, and inclines us rather to the pleasures of society and conversation, than to those of the senses. And indeed, all the difference between the conditions of life depends upon the mind ; nor is there any one situation of affairs, in itself, preferable to another. Good and ill, both natural and moral, are entirely relative to human sentiment and affection. No man would ever be unhappy, could he alter his feelings. Proteus-like, he would elude all attacks, by the continual alterations of his shape and form.

Aristotle, *Ethic.* x. 6, 7, *sqq.* Plato, *Legg.* 734.

XI.

A GREAT sign of vulgarity is also, when traced to its root, another phase of insensibility, viz., the undue regard to appearances and manners, as in the households of vulgar persons of all stations, and the assumption of behaviour, language, or dress unsuited to them, by persons in inferior stations of life. I say 'undue' regard to appearances, because in the undueness consists of course the vulgarity. It is due and wise in some sort to care for appearances, in another sort undue and unwise.

It will be found on further thought that a vulgar regard for appearances is primarily a selfish one, resulting not out of a wish to give pleasure (as a wife's wish to make herself beautiful for her husband), but out of an endeavour to mortify others, or attract for pride's sake : the common 'keeping-up appearances' of society being a mere selfish struggle of the vain with the vain. But the deepest stain of the vulgarity depends on this being done, not selfishly only, but stupidly, without understanding the impression which is really produced, nor the relations of importance between one's-self and others, so as to suppose that their attention is fixed upon us, when we are in reality ciphers in their eyes, all which comes of insensibility. Hence pride simple is not vulgar (the looking down upon others because of their true inferiority to us), nor vanity simple (the desire of praise), but conceit simple (the attribution to ourselves of qualities we have not) is always so.

Aristotle, *Ethic.* iv. 2-4.

XII.

A TRUER sign of breeding than mere kindness is, th fore, sympathy. A vulgar man may often be kind hard way, on principle, or because he thinks he ought to whereas a highly bred man, even when cruel, will be crue a softer way, understanding and feeling what he inflicts, pitying his victim. Only we must carefully remember that quantity of sympathy a gentleman feels can never be jud of by its outward expression, for another of his chief char teristics is apparent reserve. I say apparent reserve: for sympathy is real, but the reserve not; a perfect gentleman never reserved, but sweetly and entirely open, so far as it good for others, or posssible that he should be. In a gr many respects it is impossible that he should be open exce to men of his own kind. To them he can open himself by word, or syllable, or a glance; but to men not of his kind cannot open himself, though he tried it through an eternity clear grammatical speech. By the very acuteness of his sy pathy he knows how much of himself he can give to anybod and he gives that much frankly,—would always be glad to gi more if he could, but is obliged, nevertheless, in his gener intercourse with the world, to be a somewhat silent person silence is to most people, he finds, less reserve than speech.

Aristotle, *Ethic.* iv. 3.

XIII.

A GENTLEMAN'S first characteristic is that fineness structure in the body which renders it capable of th most delicate sensation; and of structure in the mind whic renders it capable of the most delicate sympathies: one ma say simply 'fineness of nature.' This is of course compatibl with heroic bodily strength and mental firmness: in fact heroic strength is not conceivable without such delicacy. Elephantine strength may drive its way through a forest and feel no touch of the boughs; but the white skin of Homer's Atrides would have felt a bent rose-leaf, yet subdue its feeling in glow of battle, and behave itself like iron. I do not mean to call an elephant a vulgar animal; but if you think about him carefully, you will find that his non-vulgarity consists in such gentleness as is possible to elephantine nature—not in his insensitive hide, nor in his clumsy foot, but in the way he will lift his foot if a child lies in his way; and in his sensitive trunk, and still more sensitive mind, and capability of pique on points of honour.

And though rightness of moral conduct is ultimately the great purifier of race, the sign of nobleness is not in this rightness of moral conduct, but in sensitiveness. When the make of the creature is fine, its temptations are strong, as well as its perceptions: it is liable to all kinds of impressions from without in their most violent form, liable therefore to be abused and hurt by all kinds of rough things which would do a coarser nature little harm, and thus to fall into frightful wrong if its fate will have it so.

Aristotle, *Eudem. Ethic.* vii. 15; *Nicom. Ethic.* iv. 3.

XIV.

'BUT how then,' continued he, 'if all art be cause, is it also true that all cause is art?' At this again I could not help hesitating. 'You have heard,' said he, 'without doubt, of that painter famed in story, who having to paint the foam of a horse, and not succeeding to his mind, threw at the picture, in resentment, a sponge bedaubed with colours, and produced a foam the most natural imaginable. Now what say you to this fact? Shall we pronounce art to have been the cause?'

'By no means,' said I. 'What,' said he, 'if instead of chance his hand had been guided by mere compulsion, himself dissenting and averse to the violence?' 'Even here,' replied I, 'nothing could have been referred to the art.' 'But what,' continued he, 'if instead of a casual throw or involuntary compulsion, he had willingly and designedly directed his pencil, and so produced the foam, which the story says he failed in—would not art here have been the cause?' I replied, 'In this case I thought it would.' 'It should seem then,' said he, 'that art implies not only cause, but the additional requisite of intention, reason, volition, and consciousness: so that not every cause is art, but only voluntary or intentional cause.' 'So,' said I, 'it appears.'

Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 1, 10; *Ethic.* iii. 1; vi. 4. Plato, *Euthydem.* 280, *sqq.* Xenophon, *Memor.* iii. 10, 6.

XV.

ALTHOUGH we are not of opinion, therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which subsisting in the bosom of the Highest, and being thence discovered, she fixeth her eye upon them, as travellers by sea upon the pole-star of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to work by imitation: although we rather embrace the oracle of Hippocrates, that 'each thing, both in small and in great, fulfilleth the task which destiny hath set down;' and concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the same, 'what they do they know not, yet is it in show and appearance as though they did know what they do; and the truth is they do not discern the things which they look on:' nevertheless, forasmuch as the works of nature are no less exact, than if she did both behold and study how to express some absolute shape or mirror always present before her; yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual creature in the world were able by capacity to do that which nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways.

Plato, *Timæus*, 37 D. 48, *sqq.*; *Parmenides*, 132, 133; *Repub.* 596 C.

XVI.

THE pleasures of sight and hearing are given as gifts. They answer not any purposes of mere existence, for the distinction of all that is dangerous or useful to us might be made, and often is made, by the eye, without its receiving the slightest pleasure of sight. We might have learnt to distinguish fruits and grain from flowers, without having any superior pleasure in the aspect of the latter. And the ear might have learned to distinguish the sounds that communicate ideas, or to recognise intimations of elemental danger without perceiving either music in the voice, or majesty in the thunder. And as these pleasures have no function to perform, so there is no limit to their continuance in the accomplishment of their end, for they are an end in themselves, and so may be perpetual with all of us, being in no way destructive, but rather increasing in exquisiteness by repetition.

Herein, then, we find very sufficient ground for the higher estimation of these delights, first, in their being eternal and inexhaustible, and, secondly, in their being evidently no means or instrument of life, but an object of life. Now, in whatever is an object of life, in whatever may be infinitely and for itself desired, we may be sure there is something of divine; for God will not make anything an object of life to his creatures which does not point to or partake of Himself. And so, though w were to regard the pleasures of sight merely as the highest sensual pleasures, and though they were of rare occurrenc and, when occurring, isolated and imperfect, there would sti be a supernatural character about them, owing to their per manence and self-sufficiency, where no other sensual pleasure are permanent or self-sufficient. But when, instead of bein scattered, interrupted, or distributed by chance, they are gathered together, and so arranged to enhance each other, as by chance they could not be, there is caused by them not only a feeling of strong affection towards the object by which they are called forth, but a perception of purpose and adaptation of it to our desires; a perception, therefore, of the immediate operation of the Intelligence which so formed us, and so feeds us.

Aristotle, *Ethic.* iii. 10, 14. Plato, *Repub.* 580 D. 584; *Philebus*, 51, *sqq.*; *Hippias major*, 297 E. *sqq.*

XVII.

THE mere animal consciousness of pleasantness I call æsthesis: but the exulting, grateful, and reverent perception of it I call theoria. For this, and this only, is the full comprehension and contemplation of the beautiful as a gift of God: a gift not necessary to our being, but added to and elevating it. And that this joyfulness and reverence are a necessary part of theoretic pleasure, is very evident, when we consider that by the presence of these feelings even the lower and more sensual pleasures may be rendered theoretic. Thus Aristotle has subtly noted that 'we call not men intemperate so much with respect to the scents of roses or herb-perfumes, as of ointments and of condiments,' though the reason that he gives for this be futile enough. For the fact is, that of scents artificially prepared the extreme desire is intemperance; but of natural and God-given scents, which take their part in the harmony and pleasantness of creation, there can hardly be intemperance: not that there is any absolute difference between the two kinds, but that these are likely to be received with gratitude and joyfulness rather than those, so that we despise the seeking of essences and unguents, but not the sowing of violets along our garden banks.

Aristotle, *Ethic. Eudem.* iii. 2, 8. Plato, *Philebus*, 51, *sqq.*; *Hippias major*, 299 E.

XVIII.

AND first for its noblest faculty, the understanding: it was then sublime, clear, and aspiring, and, as it were, the soul's upper region, lofty and serene, free from the vapours and disturbances of the inferior affections. It was the leading, controlling faculty; all the passions wore the colours of reason; it did not so much persuade as command; it was not consul, but dictator. Discourse was then almost as quick as intuition; it was nimble in proposing, firm in concluding: it could sooner determine than now it can dispute. Like the sun, it had both light and agility; it knew no rest but in motion; no quiet but in activity. It did not so properly apprehend as irradiate the object; not so much find, as make things intelligible. It did arbitrate upon the several reports of sense, and all the varieties of imagination; not like a drowsy judge, only hearing, but also directing their verdict. In some it was vegete, quick, and lively; open as the day, untainted as the morning, full of the innocence and sprightliness of youth; it gave the soul a bright and a full view into all things, and was not only a window, but itself the prospect.

Plato, *Repub.* 508, *sq.*; *Phædrus*, 247 C. *sqq.*; *Timæus*, 34.

XIX.

'IF such be the general effect of marriage,' said the Prince, 'I shall for the future think it dangerous to connect my interest with that of another, lest I should be unhappy by my partner's fault.'

'I have met,' said the Princess, 'with many who live single for that reason, but I never found that their prudence ought to raise envy. They dream away their time without friendship, without fondness, and are driven to rid themselves of the day, for which they have no use, by childish amusements or vicious delights. They act as beings under the constant sense of some known inferiority that fills their minds with rancour and their tongues with censure. They are peevish at home and malevolent abroad; and as the outlaws of human nature, make it their business and their pleasure to disturb that society which debars them from its privileges. To live without feeling or exciting sympathy, to be fortunate without adding to the felicity of others, or afflicted without tasting the balm of pity, is a state more gloomy than solitude; it is not retreat, but exclusion from mankind. Marriage has many pains, but celibacy has no pleasures.'

'What, then, is to be done?' said Rasselas; 'the more we inquire, the less we can resolve. Surely he is most like to please himself that has no other inclination to regard.'

Plato, *Phædrus*, 231, 241.

XX.

'SURELY,' said the Prince, 'you must have been unfortunate in your choice of acquaintance. I am unwilling to believe that the most tender of all relations is thus impeded in its effort by natural necessity.'

'Domestic discord,' answered she, 'is not inevitably and fatally necessary; but yet it is not easily avoided. We seldom see that a whole family is virtuous: the good and evil cannot well agree; and the evil can yet less agree with one another: even the virtuous fall sometimes to variance, when their virtues are of different kinds, and tending to extremes. In general those parents have most reverence who most deserve it, for he that lives well cannot be despised. Many other evils infest private life. Some are the slaves of servants whom they have trusted with their affairs. Some are kept in continual anxiety by the caprice of rich relations, whom they cannot please, and dare not offend. Some husbands are imperious, and some wives perverse; and as it is always more easy to do evil than good, though the wisdom or virtue of one can very rarely make many happy, the folly or vice of one may often make many miserable.'

Plato, *Republic*, 329, 462.

XXI.

IT will be found that precision and exquisiteness of arrangement are always noble, but become vulgar only when they arise from an insensibility of temperament, which is incapable of fine passion, and is set ignobly, and with a dullard mechanism, on accuracy in vile things.

All the different impressions connected with negligence or foulness depend in like manner on the degree of insensibility implied. Disorder in a drawing-room is vulgar, in an antiquary's study, not: the black battle-stain on a soldier's face is not vulgar, but the dirty face of a housemaid is.

And lastly, courage, so far as it is a sign of race, is peculiarly the mark of a gentleman or a lady; but it becomes vulgar if rude or insensitive; while timidity is not vulgar, if it be a characteristic of race or fineness of make. A fawn is not vulgar in being timid, nor a crocodile 'gentle' because courageous.

Without following the inquiry further into detail, we may conclude that vulgarity consists in a deadness of the heart and body, resulting from prolonged and especially from inherited conditions of 'degeneracy,' or literally 'unracing:'—gentlemanliness being another word for an intense humanity. And vulgarity shows itself primarily in dulness of heart; not in rage or cruelty, but in inability to feel or conceive noble character or emotion. This is its essential, pure, and most fatal form. Dulness of bodily sense and general stupidity, with such forms of crime as peculiarly issue from stupidity, are its material manifestation.

Aristotle, *Ethic.* iv. 2; iii. 8; *Rhetoric.* ii. 15.

XXII.

'IT is hardly probable,' said he, 'that music, painting, medicine, poetry, agriculture, and so many more should be all called by one common name, if there was not something in each which was common to all.' 'It should seem so,' replied I. 'What then,' said he, 'shall we pronounce this to be?' At this, I remember, I was under some sort of hesitation. 'Have courage,' cried my friend, 'perhaps the case is not so desperate. Let me ask you—Is medicine the cause of anything?' 'Yes, surely,' said I, 'of health.' 'And agriculture—of what?' 'Of the plentiful growth of grain.' 'And poetry—of what?' 'Of plays and epics, and odes and the like.' 'And is not the same true,' said he, 'of music, of statuary, of architecture, and in short of every art whatever?' 'I confess,' said I, 'it seems so.' 'Suppose, then,' said he, 'we should say, "It was common to every art to be a cause,"—should we err?' I replied, 'I thought not.' 'Let this, then,' said he, 'be remembered, that all art is cause.' I promised him it should.

Aristotle, *Ethic. Nicom.* vi. 4. Plato, *Politic.* 293; *Sophist.* 265; *Symposium*, 205 B.; *Gorgias*, 449 D.

XXIII.

'IF, then, neither the lucrative life, nor the political,' said he, 'procure that good which we desire, shall we seek it from the pleasurable? Shall we make pleasure our goddess?

> " Pleasure,
> Whom love attends, and soft desire, and words
> Alluring, apt the steadiest heart to bend."

So says the poet, and plausible his doctrine.' 'Plausible,' said I, 'indeed.' 'Let it, then,' continued he, 'be a pleasurable world: a race of harmless, loving animals: an Elysian temperature of sunshine and shade. Let the earth in every quarter resemble our own dear country: where never was a frost, never a fog, never a day but was delicious and serene.' I was a little embarrassed at this unexpected flight, till, recollecting myself, I told him (but still with some surprise) that, in no degree to disparage either my country or my countrymen, I had never found either so exquisite as he now supposed them. 'There are, then, it seems,' said he, 'in the natural world, and even in our own beloved country, such things as storms and tempests, as pinching colds and scorching heats. I replied 'there were.' 'And consequent to these disease and famine, and infinite calamities.' 'There are.'

Aristotle, *Ethic. Eudem.* I. 4. Homer, *Il.* xiv. 214. Plato, *Repub.* 581 C. *sqq.*; *Euthydem.* 275 D.; *Hippias Major*, 292 C.

XXIV.

'NOTHING,' replied the artist, 'will ever be attempted, if all possible objections must be first overcome. If you will favour my project, I will try the first flight at my own hazard. I have considered the structure of all volant animals, and find the folding continuity of the bat's wings most easily accommodated to the human form. Upon this model I shall begin my task to-morrow, and in a year expect to tower into the air beyond the malice and pursuit of man. But I will work only on this condition, that the art shall not be divulged, and that you shall not require me to make wings for any but yourselves.'

'Why,' said Rasselas, 'should you envy others so great an advantage? All skill ought to be exerted for universal good: every man has owed much to others, and ought to repay the kindness that he has received.'

'If men were all virtuous,' returned the artist, 'I should, with great alacrity, teach them all to fly. But what would be the security of the good, if the bad could at pleasure invade them from the sky? Against an army sailing through the clouds, neither walls, nor mountains, nor seas could afford any security. A flight of northern savages might hover in the wind, and light at once with irresistible violence upon the capital of a fruitful region that was rolling under them. Even this valley, the retreat of princes, the abode of happiness, might be violated by the sudden descent of some of the naked nations that swarm on the coast of the southern sea!'

Plato, *Euthyphron*, 11 C., *sqq.* Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1170, *sqq.*
Lucian, *Veræ Histor.* i. 9, *sqq.*

XXV.

THE wild powers and mysteries of nature are in the Homeric mind among the enemies of man: so that all the labours of Ulysses are an expression of the contest of manhood, not only with its own passions, or with the folly of others, but with the merciless and mysterious powers of the natural world.

Now, observe, that in their dealing with all these subjects, the Greeks never shrink from horror: down to its uttermost depth, to its most appalling physical detail, they strive to sound the secrets of sorrow. For them there is no passing by on the other side, no turning away the eyes to vanity from pain. Whether there be consolation for them or not, neither apathy nor blindness shall be their saviour; if for them thus knowing the facts of the grief of earth, any hope, relief, or triumph may hereafter seem possible,—well: but if not, still hopeless, reliefless, eternal, the sorrow shall be met face to face. This Hector, so righteous, so merciful, so brave, has nevertheless to look upon his dearest brother in miserablest death. His own soul passes away in hopeless sobs through the throat-wound of the Grecian spear. That is one aspect of things in this world, a fair world truly, but having among its other aspects, this one, highly ambiguous.

Meeting it boldly as they may, gazing right into the skeleton face of it, the ambiguity remains: nay, in some sort gains upon them. We trusted in the gods; we thought that wisdom and courage would save us. Our wisdom and courage themselves deceive us to our death. Athena had the aspect of Duphobus, —terror of the enemy. She has not terrified him, but left us in our mortal need.

Plato, *Republic*, 386, *sqq.*; *Apolog.* 28 B. *sqq.*

XXVI.

AND beyond that mortality what hope have we? Nothing is clear to us on that horizon, nor comforting. Funeral honours: perhaps also rest; perhaps a shadowy life,—artless, joyless, loveless. No devices in that darkness of the grave, nor daring, nor delight. Neither marrying, nor giving in marriage; nor casting of spears, nor rolling of chariots; nor voice of fame lapped in pale Elysian mist, chilling the forgetful heart and feeble frame, shall we waste on for ever? Can the dust of earth claim more of immortality than this? Or shall we have even so much as rest? May we indeed be down again in the dust, or have our sins not hidden from us even the things that belong to that peace? May not chance and the whirl of passion govern us there? When there shall be no thought, nor work, nor wisdom, nor breathing of the soul?

Be it so. With no better reward, no brighter hope, we will be men while we may: men just and strong and fearless, and up to our power, perfect.

Plato, *Gorgias*, 523, *sqq.; Rep.* 386, *sqq.*

XXVII.

POETRY is, as was said more than two thousand years ago, imitation. It is an art analogous in many respects to the art of painting, sculpture, and acting. The imitations of the painter, the sculptor, and the actor are indeed, within certain limits, more perfect than those of the poet. The machinery which the poet employs consists merely of words: and words cannot, even when employed by such an artist as Homer, present to the mind images of visible objects quite so lively and exact as those which we carry away from looking on the works of the brush and the chisel. But, on the other hand, the range of poetry is infinitely wider than that of any other imitative art, or than that of all the other imitative arts together. The sculptor can imitate only form; the painter only form and colour; the actor, until the poet supplies him with words, only form, colour, and motion. Poetry holds the outer world in common with the other arts. The heart of man is the province of poetry, and of poetry alone. The painter, the sculptor, and the actor, can exhibit no more of human passion and character than that small portion which overflows into the gesture and the face—always an imperfect, often a deceitful, sign of that which is within. The deeper and more complex parts of human nature can be exhibited by means of words alone. Thus the objects of the imitation of poetry are the whole external and the whole internal universe, the face of nature, the vicissitudes of fortune, man as he is in himself, man as he appears in society,—all things which really exist, all things of which we can form an image in our minds by combining together parts of things which really exist. The domain of this imperial art is commensurate with the imaginative faculty.

Plato, *Repub.* 394, *sqq.; Ion*, 533 D. *sqq.* Aristotle, *Poet.* i. *sqq.*
Plato, *Repub.* 598, *sqq.;* 600 E. *sqq.;* 603, 605.

XXVIII.

THE poet who, as we have before taken notice, speaks as little as possible in his own person, and, after the example of Homer, fills every part of his work with manners and characters, introduces a soliloquy of this infernal agent, who was thus restless in the destruction of man. He is then described as gliding through the garden under the resemblance of a mist, in order to find out that creature in which he designed to tempt our first parents. This description has something in it very poetical and surprising:—

> 'So saying, through each thicket, dank or dry,
> Like a black mist, low creeping, he held on
> His midnight search, where soonest he might find
> The serpent: him fast sleeping soon he found
> In labyrinth of many a round self-rolled,
> His head the midst, well stored with subtle wiles.'

The author afterwards gives us a description of the Morning, which is wonderfully suitable to a divine poem, and peculiar to that first season of nature; he represents the earth before it was curst as a great altar breathing out its incense from parts, and sending up a pleasant savour to the nostrils of Creator; to which he adds a noble idea of Adam and Eve, offering their morning worship, and filling up the univer concert of praise and adoration :—

'Now when as sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flowers, that breathed
Their morning incense, when all things that breathe
From th' earth's great altar send up silent praise
To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell; forth came the human pair,
And join their vocal worship to the choir
Of creatures wanting voice.'

Plato, *Repub.* iii. 386, *sqq.* 392; *Ion*, 538 E.
Aristotle, *Poet.* c. 24, § 13, *sqq.*

XXIX.

THE sentiments in an Epic Poem are the thoughts an behaviour which the author ascribes to the person whom he introduces, and are just when they are conformabl to the characters of the several persons. The sentiments have likewise a relation to things as well as persons, and are ther perfect when they are such as are adapted to the subject. I in either of these cases the poet argues or explains, magnifies or diminishes, raises love or hatred, pity or terror, or any other passion, we ought to consider whether the sentiments he makes use of are proper for these ends. Homer is cen- sured by the critics for his defect as to this particular in several parts of the Iliad and Odyssey, though at the same time those who have treated this great poet with candour have attributed this defect to the times in which he lived. It was the fault of the age and not of Homer, if there wants that delicacy in some of his sentiments which appears in the works of men of a much inferior genius. Besides, if there are blemishes in any particular thoughts, there is an infinite beauty in the greatest part of them. In short, if there are many poets who would not have fallen into the meanness of some of his sentiments, there are none who could have risen up to the greatness of others.

Aristotle, *Poet.* xxiii. xxiv.; Plato, *Repub.* 392, 393.

XXX.

ACHILLES is everywhere distinguished by an abhorrence of oppression, by a liberal and elevated mind, by a passion for glory, and by a love of truth, freedom, and sincerity. Though no admirer of the cause in which his evil destiny compels him to engage, he is warmly attached to his native land; and, ardent as he is in vengeance, he is equally so in love to his aged father Peleus, and to his friend Patroclus. He is not luxurious like Paris, nor clownish like Ajax; his accomplishments are princely, and his amusements worthy of a hero. Add to this, as an apology for the vehemence of his anger, that the affront he had received was (according to the manners of that age) of the most atrocious nature; and not only unprovoked, but such as, on the part of Agamemnon, betrayed a brutal insensibility to merit, as well as a proud, selfish, ungrateful, and tyrannical disposition. And though he is often inexcusably furious; yet it is but justice to remark that he was not naturally cruel; and that his wildest outrages were such as in those rude times might be expected from a violent man of invincible strength and valour, when exasperated by injury and frantic with sorrow. Our hero's claim to the admiration of mankind is indisputable. Every part of his character is sublime and astonishing. In his person he is the strongest, the swiftest, and most beautiful of men: this last circumstance, however, occurs not to his own observation, being too trivial to attract the notice of so great a mind.

Plato, *Hippias Minor*, 369, *sqq.*; *Repub.* iii. 391. Aristotle, *Poet.* c. xv.

XXXI.

AS to some of the ends of civil government, all people are agreed. That it is designed to protect our persons and our property: that it is designed to compel us to satisfy our wants, not by rapine, but by industry: that it is designed to compel us to decide our differences, not by the strong hand, but by arbitration: that it is designed to direct our whole force, as that of one man, against any other society which may offer us injury; these are propositions that will hardly be disputed. Now, these are matters in which man, without any reference to any higher being, or to any future state, is very deeply interested. Every human being naturally loves life, shrinks from pain, desires comforts which can be enjoyed only in communities where property is secure. To be murdered, to be tortured, to be robbed, to be sold into slavery,—these are evidently evils from which men of every religion, and men of no religion, wish to be protected; and therefore it will hardly be disputed, that men of every religion, and of no religion, have thus far a common interest in being well governed.

Aristotle, *Polit.* iii. 7. Plato, *Repub.* 369.

XXXII.

SHOULD a spirit of superior rank, who is a stranger to human nature, accidentally alight upon the earth, and take a survey of its inhabitants, what would his notion of us be? Would not he think, that we were a species of beings made for quite different ends and purposes than what we really are? Must not he imagine, that we were placed in this world to get riches and honours? Would not he think, that it was our duty to toil after wealth and station and title? Nay, would not he believe we were forbidden poverty by threats of eternal punishment, and enjoined to pursue our pleasures under pain of damnation? He would certainly imagine, that we were influenced by a scheme of duties quite opposite to those which are indeed prescribed to us. And truly, according to such an imagination, he must conclude that we are a species of the most obedient creatures in the universe; that we are constant to our duty; and that we keep a steady eye on the end for which we were sent hither.

Plato, *Apol.* 29, 30. Lucian, *Contemplant.* 20, *sqq.*

XXXIII.

BUT first we may ask what should we predicate of slavery, if we knew nothing minutely about it? Should we not say, that when once man was subject to man, as an animal is subject, he would shrink away into mere animal nature? Should we not expect to hear of chains and stripes, of physical brutality of all kinds? Without any history of slavery, should we not divine, from the conduct of free men to each other, that no man was fitted for absolute power? And, if we turned from political to domestic life, should we not say, that the smaller the sphere in which absolute power prevailed, the greater would be the danger of its being abused? If we then considered that in a system of slavery, absolute power would be delegated not only to men, but to women and children, should we think it less of an evil on that account? Again, if we heard that in this imaginary state the slaves outnumbered the freemen, could we doubt that cruel precautions would often be taken to avert the dangers of insurrection? And, in fine, if we were told that the slaves differed in race and colour from their owners, should we not conjecture that this circumstance would add disgust to cruelty, and darken injustice with loathing?

Aristotle, *Polit.* i. 2 [iii. *sqq.*]; *Œconomic.* v.
Plato, *Legg.* 777; *Rep.* 566, *sqq.*

XXXIV.

FOR my own part, I am of opinion compassion does not only refine and civilize human nature, but has something in it more pleasing and agreeable than what can be met with in such an indolent happiness, such an indifference to mankind, as that in which the Stoics placed their wisdom. As love is the most delightful passion, pity is nothing else but love softened by a degree of sorrow: in short, it is a kind of pleasing anguish, as well as generous sympathy, that knits mankind together, and blends them in the same common lot.

Those who have laid down rules for rhetoric or poetry, advise the writer to work himself up, if possible, to the pitch of sorrow which he endeavours to produce in others. There are none, therefore, who stir up pity so much as those who indite their own sufferings. Grief has a natural eloquence belonging to it, and breaks out in more moving sentiments than can be supplied by the finest imagination. Nature on this occasion dictates a thousand passionate things which cannot be supplied by art.

It is for this reason that the short speeches or sentences which we often meet with in histories, make a deeper impression on the mind of the reader, than the most laboured strokes in a well-written tragedy.

Aristotle, *Rhetoric.* ii. 8; *Poetic.* xiv.

XXXV.

WE are liable to make constant mistakes about the nature of practical wisdom, until we come to perceive that it consists not in any one predominant faculty or disposition, but rather in a certain harmony amongst all the faculties and affections of the man. Where this harmony exists, there are likely to be well-chosen ends, and means judiciously adapted. But, as it is, we see numerous instances of men who, with great abilities, accomplish nothing, and we are apt to vary our views of practical wisdom according to the particular failings of these men. Sometimes we think it consists in having a definite purpose, and being constant to it. But take the case of a deeply selfish person : he will be constant enough to his purpose, and it will be a definite one. Very likely, too, it may not be founded upon unreasonable expectations. The object which he has in view may be a small thing ; but being as close to his eyes as to his heart, there will be times when he can see nothing above it, or beyond it, or beside it. And so he may fail in practical wisdom.

Aristotle, *Ethic. Nicom.* vi. 5, 7, 8, 10, 11.

XXXVI.

IT is not the reasoning power which of itself is noble, but the reasoning power occupied with its proper objects. Half of the mistakes of metaphysicians have arisen from their not observing this, namely, that the intellect, going through the same processes, is yet mean or noble according to the matter it deals with, and wastes itself away in mere rotatory motion, if it be set to grind straws or dust. If we reason only respecting words or lines or any trifling or finite things, the reason becomes a contemptible faculty ; but reason employed on holy and infinite things, becomes herself holy and infini So that by the work of the soul, I mean the work of the enti immortal creature proceeding from a quick, perceptive, a eager heart, perfected by the intellect, and finally dealt wi by the hands under the direct guidance of these high powers.

Aristotle, *Ethic. Nicom.* x. 9.

XXXVII.

BEAUTY has been appointed by the Deity to be one o those elements by which the human soul is continually sustained: it is therefore to be found more or less in all natural objects, but in order that we may not satiate ourselves with it, and weary of it, it is rarely granted to us in its utmost degrees. When we see it in those utmost degrees, we are attracted to it strongly, and remember it long, as in the case of singularly beautiful scenery, or a beautiful countenance. On the other hand, absolute ugliness is admitted as rarely as perfect beauty; but degrees of it more or less distinct, are associated with whatever has the nature of death and sin, just as beauty is associated with what has the nature of virtue and life.

This being so, you see that when the relative beauty of any particular forms has to be examined, we may reason from the forms of nature around us in this manner: what nature does generally, is sure to be more or less beautiful; what she does rarely will either be very beautiful, or absolutely ugly; and we may again easily determine, if we are not willing in such a case to trust to our feelings, which of these is indeed the case, by this simple rule, that if the rare occurrence is the result of the complete fulfilment of a natural law, it will be beautiful: if of the violation of a natural law, it will be ugly.

Plato, *Hippias Major*, 294, *sqq*. Isocrates, *Helen.* 61, *sq.* [x. 216].

XXXVIII.

FOR thus the sun is the eye of the world: and he is indifferent to the negro, or the cold Russian, to them that dwell under the line, and them that stand near the tropics, the scalded Indian, or the poor boy that shakes at the foot of the Riphæan hills. But the fluxures of the heaven and the earth, the conveniency of abode, and the approaches to the north or south respectively, change the emanations of his beams, not that they do not always pass from him, but that they are not equally received below, but by periods and changes, by little inlets and reflexions they receive what they can. And some have only a dark day and a long night from him, snows and white cattle, a miserable life, and a perpetual harvest of catarrhs and consumptions, apoplexies and dead palsies. But some have splendid fires and aromatic spices, rich wines and well digested fruits, great wit, and great courage; because they dwell in his eye and look in his face, and are the courtiers of the sun, and wait upon him in his chambers of the east.

Just so it is in friendships: some are worthy and some are necessary: some dwell hard by, and are fitted for converse; nature joins some to us, and religion combines us with others; society and accidents, parity of fortune, and equal dispositions do actuate our friendships, which of themselves and in their prime dispositions are prepared for all mankind, according as any one can receive them.

Plato, *Repub.* 508; *Lysis*, 214.

XXXIX.

GRADUALLY thinking on from point to point, we shall come to perceive that all true happiness and nobleness are near us, and yet neglected by us: and that till we have learned how to be happy and noble, we have not much to tell even to red Indians. The delights of horse-racing and hunting, of assemblies in the night instead of the day, of costly and wearisome music, of costly and burdensome dress, of chagrined contention for place or power or wealth, or the eyes of the multitude; and all the endless occupation without purpose, and idleness without rest, of our vulgar world, are not, it seems to me, enjoyments we need be ambitious to communicate. And all real and wholesome enjoyments possible to man have been just as possible to him since first he was made of the earth as they are now: and they are possible to him chiefly in peace. To watch the corn grow and the blossoms set; to draw hard breath over ploughshare or spade; to read, to think, to love, to hope, to pray: these are the things that make men happy: they have always had the power of doing these, they never will have power to do more. The world's prosperity or adversity depends upon our knowing and teaching these few things, but upon iron or glass or electricity in no wise. And I am Utopian and enthusiastic enough to believe that the time will come when the world will discover this.

Aristotle, *Ethic.* x. 6, *sqq.* Plato, *Gorgias*, 507; *Phædrus*, 230.
Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 24.

XL.

WE are all of us condemned to die, and that, as we well know by an irrevocable sentence, of which the execution cannot be many years deferred, and may be to-morrow —and yet how little do we think of this, not only when youth and health seem to place between us and the dark valley beyond a hill which we have yet to ascend, but when declining age and failing health have brought us to the strait and sloping road, out of which there is no turning, and of which though we cannot see the exact end, we know very well where to look for it. We are even willing, for the most futile causes, to multiply the chances of death which each day brings with it; we do it for the sake of gain, we do it for the sake of pleasure, we do it even sometimes for the want of something else to do.

Remembering this, and considering it as we should do, we may well wonder that lawgivers should have trusted so much to the threat of death, that is, to an increased probability of dying in a particular way, as a sort of specific against crime. But, in truth, this was not, I think, the original reason of capital punishment. The slaying of the homicide was at first meant as an act of vengeance against him, rather than as a warning to others; it was rather given to the family of the sufferer as a consolation, than exacted by society for its protection; and this primitive notion of the vindictive character of punishment is still, in cases of murder at least, the one which prevails beyond all other notions in the popular mind, and the chief reason with the bulk of mankind, as it is perhaps also the best reason in itself, for maintaining in this instance the penalty of death.

Plato, *Apolog.* 28, B. *sqq.*; *Rep.* 330, D.; *Legg.* 862, C.-E. 868, 933, E.; *Gorgias*, 525, B. *sqq.*; *Protag.* 324.

XLI.

THE present is a fleeting moment, the past is no more; and our prospect of futurity is dark and doubtful. This day may possibly be my last; but the laws of probability, so true in general, so fallacious in particular, still allow about fifteen years. I shall soon enter into the period which, as the most agreeable of his long life, was selected by the judgment and experience of the sage Fontenelle. His choice is approved by the eloquent historian of nature, who fixes our moral happiness to the mature season in which our passions are supposed to be calmed, our duties fulfilled, our ambition satisfied, our fame and fortune established on a solid basis. In private conversation, that great and amiable man added the weight of his own experience; and this autumnal felicity might be exemplified in the lives of many other men of letters. I am far more inclined to embrace than to dispute this comfortable doctrine. I will not suppose any premature decay of the mind or body; but I must reluctantly observe that two causes, the abbreviation of time and the failure of hope, will always tinge with a browner shade the evening of life.

Plato, *Repub.* 329-331.

XLII.

THE sure sign of the general decline of an art is the frequent occurrence, not of deformity, but of misplaced beauty. In general, tragedy is corrupted by eloquence, and comedy by wit. The real object of the drama is the exhibition of human character. This, we conceive, is no arbitrary canon, originating in local and temporary associations, like those canons which regulate the number of acts in a play, or of syllables in a line. To this fundamental law every other regulation is subordinate. The situations which most signally develop character form the best plot. The mother tongue of the passions is the best style. This principle, rightly understood, does not debar the poet from any grace of composition. There is no style in which some man may not, under some circumstances, express himself. There is therefore no style which the drama rejects, none which it does not occasionally require. It is in the discernment of place, of time, and of person, that the inferior artists fail.

Aristotle, *Poet.* vi. *sqq.*

XLIII.

FOR *lives*, I do find it strange that these times have so little esteemed the virtues of the times, as that the writing of lives should be no more frequent. For although there be not many sovereign princes or absolute commanders, and that states are most collected into monarchies, yet are there many worthy personages that deserve better than dispersed report or barren *eulogies*. For herein the invention of one of the late poets is proper, and doth well enrich the ancient fiction: for he feigneth that at the end of the thread or web of every man's life there was a little medal containing the person's name, and that Time waited upon the shears; and, as soon as the thread was cut, caught the medals, and carried them to the river of Lethe; and about the bank there were many birds flying up and down, that would get the medals and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the river: only there were a few swans, which, if they got a name, would carry it to a temple, where it was consecrated.

Plato, *Menex.* 236, *sqq.*; *Theæt.* 197, 198.
Isocrates, *Panegyr.* 1 [Orat. iv. 41].

XLIV.

AS our bodies, to be in health, must be generally exercised, so our minds, to be in health, must be generally cultivated. You would not call a man healthy who had strong arms, but was paralytic in his feet: nor one who could walk well, but had no use of his hands: nor one who could see well, if he could not hear. You would not voluntarily reduce your bodies to any such partially developed state. Much more, then, you would not, if you could help it, reduce your minds to it. Now, your minds are endowed with a vast number of gifts of totally different uses—limbs of mind, as it were, which if you don't exercise, you cripple. One is curiosity; that is a gift, a capacity of pleasure in knowing, which if you destroy, you make yourselves cold and dull. Another is sympathy: the power of sharing in the feelings of living creatures; which if you destroy, you make yourselves hard and cruel. Another of your limbs of mind is admiration: the power of enjoying beauty or ingenuity; which if you destroy, you make yourselves base and irreverent. Another is wit, or the power of playing with the lights on the many sides of truth; which if you destroy, you make yourselves gloomy, and less useful and cheering to others than you might be. So that in choosing your way of work, it should be your aim, as far as possible, to bring out all these faculties, as far as they exist in you; not one merely, nor another, but all of them. And the way to bring them out is simply to concern yourselves attentively with the subjects of each faculty. To cultivate sympathy, you must be among living creatures, and thinking about them; and to cultivate admiration, you must be among beautiful things, and looking at them.

Plato, *Timæus*, 87, c.; *Crito*, 47-48; *Repub.* 585, 591; 535 D.
Aristotle, *Ethic.* iii. x.

XLV.

THERE is not a man whom it would so ill become to boast of memory as myself: for I own I have scarce any, and do not think that in the world there is another so defective as mine. My other faculties are mean and common; but in this respect I think myself so singular and rare, as to deserve a more than ordinary character. Besides the inconvenience I naturally suffer from this defect of memory (for, in truth, the necessary use of it considered, Plato might well call it a great and powerful goddess), in my country, when they would signify that a man is void of sense, they say that he has no memory; and when I complain of the defect of mine, they reprove me, and do not think I am in earnest by accusing myself for a fool; for they do not discern the difference betwixt memory and understanding, in which they make me worse than I really am: for, on the contrary, we rather find by experience that a strong memory is liable to be accompanied with a weak judgment: and as I acquit myself in nothing so well as the friend, they do me another wrong in this respect, that by the same words wherewith they accuse my infirmity, they represent me as ungrateful. They bring my affection into question upon account of my memory, and turn a natural imperfection into a bad conscience. It is enough that I suffer the misfortune, without being branded with a sort of malice, a vice so contrary to my nature.

Plato, *Protag.* 334, D.; *Apolog.* 21, B. 23, D. *sqq.*

XLVI.

As he was one day walking in the street, he saw a spacious building, which all were, by the open doors, invited to enter: he followed the stream of people, and found it a hall or school of declamation, in which professors read lectures to their auditory. He fixed his eye upon a sage raised above the rest, who discoursed with great energy on the government of the passions. His look was venerable, his action graceful, his pronunciation clear, and his diction elegant. He showed, with great strength of sentiment, and variety of illustration, that human nature is degraded and debased when the lower faculties predominate over the higher; that when fancy, the parent of passion, usurps the dominion of the mind, nothing ensues but the natural effect of unlawful government, perturbation, and confusion; that she betrays the fortresses of the intellect to rebels, and excites her children to sedition against reason, their lawful sovereign. He compared reason to the sun, of which the light is constant, uniform, and lasting; and fancy to a meteor, of bright but transitory lustre, irregular in its motion, and delusive in its direction.

Plato, *Erast. ad initium; Euthydem.* 273; *Protag.* 315.

XLVII.

CYRIL speaks of certain people that chose to worship the sun because he was a day-god; for, believing that he was quenched every night in the sea, or that he had no influence upon them that light up candles, and lived by the light of the fire, they were confident they might be atheists all night, and live as they list. Men who divide their little time between religion and pleasures, between God and God's enemy, think that God is to rule but in His certain period of time, and that our life is the stage for passion and folly, and the day of death for the work of our life. But as to God both the day and the night are alike, so are the first and last of our days; all are His due, and He will account severely with us for the follies of the first and the evil of the last. The evils and the pains are great which are reserved for those who defer their restitution to God's favour till their death. Therefore Antisthenes said well, 'It is not the happy death, but the happy life, that makes man happy.'

Plato, *Repub.* 514-516; *Gorgias,* 523, *sqq.; Cratyl.* 413, B.

XLVIII.

THEY say that Prometheus, when he grew to man's estate, found mankind, though they were like him in form, utterly brutish and ignorant, being led, like the animals, only by their private judgments of things as they seemed to each man, and wholly ignorant of facts as they are. But Prometheus, taking pity on them, determined in his mind to free them from that slavery, and to teach them to rise above the beasts, by seeing things as they are. He therefore made them acquainted with the secrets of nature, and taught them all arts and sciences. But yet, as the myth relates, they became only a more cunning sort of animals, not being wholly freed from their original slavery, but each man seeking by means of those arts and sciences to please and help himself alone. Fearing therefore lest their increased strength and cunning should only enable them to prey upon each other all the more fiercely, he stole fire from heaven, and gave to each man a share thereof for his hearth, and to each community for their common altar. And by the light of this celestial fire they learnt to see those celestial and eternal bonds between man and man, as of husband to wife, of father to child, of citizen to his country, and of master to servant. And since that time, whatsoever household or nation has allowed these fires to become extinguished, has sunk down again to the level of the brutes; while those who have passed them down to their children burning bright and strong, become partakers of the bliss of the heroes in the happy islands.

Plato, *Protag.* 320.

XLIX.

THE poets say that Proteus was Neptune's herdsman, a grave sire, and so excellent a prophet that he might well be termed thrice excellent; for he knew not only things to come, but even things past as well as present; so that besides his skill in divination, he was the messenger and interpreter of all antiquities and hidden mysteries. The place of his abode was a huge vast cave, where his custom was every day at noon to count his flock of sea-calves, and then to go to sleep. Moreover, he that desired his advice in anything, could by no other means obtain it but by catching him in manacles, and holding him fast therewith; who nevertheless, to be at liberty, would turn himself into all manner of forms and wonders of nature; sometimes into fire, sometimes into water, sometimes into the shape of beasts, and the like; till at length he were restored to his own form again.

Plato, *Repub.* 380-381, 611, D.; *Cratyl.* 406, C. *sqq.*; *Timæus*, 172, A.
Homer, *Odys.* iv. 384.

L.

THE legend of St. Christopher is no history, but a fiction composed by the Greeks, a wise, learned, and imaginative people, in order to show what life that of a true Christian should be. They figure him a very great, tall, and strong man, who bears the child Jesus upon his shoulders, as the name Christopher indicates; but the child was heavy, so that he who carries him is constrained to bend under the burden. He traverses a raging and boisterous sea, the world, whose waves beat upon him, namely, tyrants and factions and the devil, who would fain bereave him of soul and life; but he supports himself by a great tree, as upon a staff, that is, God's Word. On the other side of the sea stands an old man, with a lantern, in which burns a candle; this means the writings of the prophets. Christopher directs his steps thither, and arrives safely on shore, that is, at everlasting life.

Plato, *Cratyl.* 402, E. *sqq.* Lucian, *Philop. sub finem.*

LI.

'THEY say,' it ran, 'that there is a young lady very dear to that Great Being who made the world, and that at certain seasons He, in some way or other invisible, comes to her, and fills her mind with such exceeding delight that she hardly cares to meditate on anything but Him. Therefore if you present all the world to her, she disregards it; and you could not persuade her to do anything wrong or sinful for all the treasures it contains. She lives in a wonderful sphere of peace and calmness, especially after this Great Being has manifested Himself to her mind. She goes from place to place singing sweetly, and seems to be always full of joy and pleasure; and no one knows for what. She loves especially to be alone, walking in fields and groves, where she always seems to have Him conversing with her.'

Plato, *Cratyl.* 404, c.; *Phædo.* xxxv.; *Sympos.* xxiii. Lucian, *Hermot.* 22.

LII.

THERE is a tradition among the Indians that one of their countrymen descended in a vision to the great repository of souls, and that upon his return he gave his friends a distinct account of everything he saw among the regions of the dead. His story was in substance as follows:—After having travelled for a long space under a hollow mountain, he arrived at length on the confines of the world of spirits, but could not enter it by reason of a thick forest made up of bushes, brambles and pointed thorns, so perplexed and interwoven that it was impossible so find a passage through it. Whilst he was looking about for some track or pathway that might be worn in any part of it, he saw a huge lion couched under the side of it, who kept his eye upon him in the same posture as when he watches for his prey.

Plato, *Repub.* x. 614. *sqq.*

LIII.

THE Indian immediately started back, whilst the lion rose with a spring and leaped towards him. Being wholly destitute of weapons he stooped down to take a stone in his hand; but to his surprise grasped nothing, and found the supposed stone to be only the apparition of one. If he was disappointed on this side, he was as much pleased on the other, when he found the lion, which had seized on his left shoulder, had no power to hurt him, and was only the ghost of that ravenous creature which it appeared to be. He no sooner got rid of his impotent enemy, but he marched up to the wood, and after having surveyed it for some time, endeavoured to press into one part of it that was a little thinner than the rest: when again, to his great surprise, he found the bushes made no resistance, but that he walked through briars and brambles with the same ease as through the open air.

Plato, *Repub.* 614. Lucian, *Philop. ad finem.*

LIV.

THERE were two families which from the beginning of the world were as opposite to each other as light and darkness. The one of them lived in heaven, and the other in hell. The youngest descendant of the first family was Pleasure, who was the daughter of Happiness, who was the child of Virtue, who was the offspring of the gods. These, as I said before, had their habitation in heaven. The youngest of the opposite family was Pain, who was the son of Misery, who was the child of Vice, who was the offspring of the Furies. The habitation of this race of beings was in hell. The middle station of nature between these two opposite extremes was the earth, which was inhabited by creatures of a middle kind, neither so virtuous as the one, nor so vicious as the other, but partaking of the good and bad qualities of these two families.

Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 1. 21.

LV.

THEY had to dig fifty fathoms before they reached the chamber of the dead. Into this Gest descended by a rope, holding a sword in one hand, and a taper in the other. He saw below a great dragon-ship, in which sat five hundred men, champions of the old king, who were buried with him. They did not stir, but gazed with blank eyes at the taper flame, and snorted vapour from their nostrils. Gest despoiled the old king of all his gold and armour, and was about to rob him of his sword when the taper expired. Then at once the five hundred rose from the dragon-ship, and the dæmon king rushed at him; they grappled and fought. In his need, Gest invoked St. Olaf, who appeared with light streaming from his body, and illumining the interior of the cairn. Before this light the power of the dead men failed, and Gest completed his work in the vault.

Plato, *Repub.* 359, D. *sqq.*; 514, *sqq.*

LVI.

IT may be laid down as an almost universal rule that good poets are bad critics. Their minds are under the tyranny of ten thousand associations imperceptible to others. The worst writer may easily happen to touch a spring which is connected in their minds with a long succession of beautiful images. They are like the gigantic slaves of Aladdin, gifted with matchless power, but bound by spells so mighty, that when a child, whom they could have crushed, touched a talisman, of whose secret he was ignorant, they immediately became his vassals. It has more than once happened to me to see minds, graceful and majestic as Titania, bewitched by the charms of an ass's head, bestowing on it the fondest caresses, and crowning it with the sweetest flowers. I need only mention the poems attributed to Ossian. They are utterly worthless, except as an edifying instance of the success of a story without evidence, and of a book without merit. They are a chaos of words which present no image, of images which have no archetype : they are without form and void : and darkness is upon the face of them. Yet how many men of genius have panegyrized and imitated them !

Plato, *Ion.* 533, D., 534, *sqq.* ; *Phædrus*, 245, A. ;
Sympos. 215, A. ; *Repub.* 359.

LVII.

STEPHEN had to all appearance died in Constantinople, but, as the embalmer could not be found, he was left unburied the whole night. During that time he went down into hell, where he saw many things which he had not before believed. But when he came before the Judge, the Judge said, 'I did not send for this man, but for Stephen the smith.' Stephen was too happy to get back, and on his return found his neighbour Stephen the smith dead. But Stephen learned not wisdom from his escape. He died of the plague in Rome, and with him appeared to die a soldier, who returned to reveal more of these fearful secrets of the other world, and the fate of Stephen. The soldier passed a bridge, beneath it flowed a river, from which rose vapours, dark, dismal, and noisome. Beyond the bridge spread beautiful, flowery, and fragrant meadows, peopled by spirits clothed in white. In these were many mansions, vast and full of light. Above all rose a palace of golden bricks ; to whom it belonged he could not read. On the bridge he recognised Stephen, whose foot slipped as he endeavoured to pass. His lower limbs were immediately seized by frightful forms, who strove to drag him to the fœtid dwellings below. But white and beautiful beings caught his arms, and there was a long struggle between the conflicting powers. The soldier did not see the issue of the conflict.

Plato, *Repub.* 614-621; *Gorgias*, 523.

LVIII.

BUT the Divine Revenge overtooke not long after those proud Enterprises. For within lesse than the space of one Hundred Yeares the great Atlantes was utterly lost and destroyed: not by a great Earthquake, as your man saith; (for that whole tract is little subject to Earthquakes;) but by a particular Deluge or Inundation; those Countries having at this day far greater Rivers and far higher Mountaines, to poure downe Waters than any part of the Old World. But it is true that the same Inundation was not deepe: Not past fortie feet, in most places, from the Ground; so that although it destroyed Man and Beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the Wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high Trees and Woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the Depth of the Water; yet that Inundation, though it were shallow, had a long Continuance; whereby they of the Vale that were not drowned perished for want of Food, and other things necessary.

Plato, *Timæus*, 25.

IV.—IN THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS.

I.

AFTRE that, is another Yle, where that Wômen maken gret Sorwe, whan hire Children ben y born: and whan thei dyen, thei maken gret Feſte and gret Joye and Revelle, and thanne thei caſten hem into a gret Fuyr brennynge. And tho that loven wel hire Husbondes, ȝif hire Husbondes ben dede, thei caſten hem alſo in the Fuyr, with hire Children and brennen hem. And thei ſeyn, that the Fuyr ſchalle clenſen hem of alle filthes and of alle Vices, and thei schulle gon pured and clene in to another World, to hire Husbondes, and thei ſchulle leden hire Children with hem. And the cauſe whi that they wepen, when hire Children ben born, is this, For whan thei comen into this World, thei comen to labour, ſorwe, and hevyneſſe: And whi thei maken ioye and gladneſſe at hire dyenge, is be cauſe that, as thei ſeyn, thanne thei gon to *Paradys*, where the Ryveres rennen Mylk and Hony, where that men ſeen hem in ioye and in habundance of Godes, with outen sorwe and labour.

Herodotus, v. 4-6; i. 216; iii. 99.

II.

IN the isle of Roha grow the trees that yield camphor. This tree is so large, and its branches so thick that a hundred men may easily sit under its shade. The juice, of which the camphor is made, runs out from a hole bored in the upper part of the tree, is received in a vessel where it grows to a consistency, and becomes what we call camphor; and, the juice thus drawn out, the tree withers and dies.

There is in this island the rhinoceros, a creature less than the elephant, but greater than the buffalo. They have a horn upon their nose about a cubit long; this horn is solid, and cleft in the middle from one end to the other, and there is upon it white lines representing the figure of a man. The rhinoceros fights with the elephant, runs his horn into his belly, and carries him off upon his head; but the blood and the fat of the elephant running into his eyes, and making him blind, he falls to the ground; and then, strange to relate, the roc comes and carries them both away in her claws to be food for her young ones.

Herodotus, i. 202; iii. 106, *sq.*, 111; ii. 68, 71, 92; vii. 125; iv. 172, 182.

III.

IN this island Minos reigned, who had a man of brass given to him (as some of the fablers say) by Vulcan. This man had one vein in his body, reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was closed up with a brasen nail; his name was Talus; his custom was to run thrice about the island for the defence of it. When he saw the ship Argo pass by, he threw stones at it; but Medea, with her magic, destroyed him. Some say that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that, promising to make him immortal, she drew out the nail that stopped his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died; others there are that say he was slain by Pæan, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel.

Herodotus, ii. 130; iv. 187.

IV.

'THEY understood, by the way, that their cholopey, or bond-slaves, whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their towns, lands, houses, wives, and all. At which news, being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the villany of their servants, they made the more speed home; and so, not far from Novograd, met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon, advising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set upon them with no other show of weapon but with their horse-whips (which, as their manner is, every man rideth withal), to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrify them and abate their courage. And so marching on and lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onset; which seemed so terrible in the ears of their villains, and struck such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like sheep before the drivers. In memory of this victory, the Novogradians ever since stamped their coin (which they call a *dingoe Novogrodskoy*, current through all Russia) with the figure of a horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand.' It may seem that all the women of that country have fared the worse ever since, in regard of this universal fault; for such a pudkey, or whip, as terrified those slaves, curiously wrought by herself, is the first present that the Muscovian wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection; being well assured to feel it often on her own loins.

Herodotus, iv. 1-4.

V.

IF, then, more rain fell in the Campagna formerly than is the case now; if the streams were fuller of water, and their course more rapid; above all, if, owing to the uncleared state of Central Europe, and the greater abundance of wood in Italy itself, the summer heats set in later, and were less intense, and more often relieved by violent storms of rain, there is every reason to believe that the Campagna must have been far healthier than at present; and that precisely in proportion to the clearing and cultivation of Central Europe, to the felling of the woods in Italy itself, the consequent decrease in the quantity of rain, the shrinking of the streams, and the disappearance of the water from the surface, has been the increased unhealthiness of the country, and the more extended range of the malaria.

Herodotus, ii. 19-25.

VI.

WE came to a great forest of trees, extremely straight and tall, and their trunks so smooth that it was not possible for any man to climb up to the branches that bore the fruit. All the trees were cocoa-trees, and when we entered the forest we saw a great number of apes of several sizes, that fled as soon as they perceived us, and climbed up to the top of the trees with surprising swiftness. The merchants with whom I was gathered stones, and threw them at the apes on the top of the trees. I did the same, and the apes, out of revenge, threw cocoa-nuts at us as fast, and with such gestures as sufficiently testified their anger and resentment. We gathered up the cocoa-nuts, and from time to time threw stones to provoke the apes; so that by this stratagem we filled our bags with cocoa-nuts, which it had been impossible for us to have done otherwise.

Herodotus, i. 193; iii. 102, 110-112.

VII.

THE Preſtes of that Temple han alle here Wrytynges undre the Date of the Foul that is clept Fenix : an there is non but on in alle the World. And he comethe t brenne him ſelf upon the Awtere of the Temple, at the ende of 5 Hundred Zeer : for ſo longe he lyvethe. And at the 50 Zeres ende, the Preſtes arrayen here Awtere honeſtly, and putten there upon Spices and Sulphur vif and other thinges, that wolen brenne lightly. And than the Brid Fenix comethe, and brennethe him ſelf to Aſkes. And the firſt Day next aftre, Men fynden in the Aſkes a Worm : and the ſecunde Day next aftre, Men funden a Brid quyk and perfyt : and the thridde Day next aftre, he fleethe his wey. And ſo there is no mo Briddes of that kynde in all the World, but it allone. And treuly that is a gret Myracle of God. And Men may well lykne that Bryd unto God : becauſe that there nys no God but on : and alſo, that oure Lord aroos frõ Dethe to Lyve, the thridde Day. This Bryd Men ſeen often tyme, fleen in tho Contrees : And he is not mecheles more than an Egle. And he hathe a Creſt of Fedres upon his Hed, more gret than the Poocok hathe ; and his Nekke is zalowe, aftre colour of an Orielle, that is a ſton well ſchynynge ; And his Bek is coloured blew, as *Ynde* ; And his Wenges ben of Purpre Colour, and the Taylle is zelow and red, caſtynge his Taylle azen in travers. And he is a fulle fair Brid to loken upon, azenſt the Sonne : for he ſchynethe fully glorioully and nobely.

Herodotus, ii. 73.

VIII.

OF the great acts and virtues of king Sesostris I have spoken already in the story of the Egyptian princes : only in this he was reproved, that he caused four of his captive kings to draw his caroche, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, at such time as Sesostris was carried out to take the air, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which Sesostris perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive king answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the uppermost part was as suddenly turned downward and under all: which, when Sesostris had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those princes, and all others, from the like servitude in the future.

Herodotus, i. 30-34, 207; iii. 40; vii. 46.

IX.

IN the Yle alſo of this *Taprobane*, ben grete Hilles of Gold, that Piſſemyres kepen fulle diligently. And thei fynen the pured Gold, and caſten away the unpured. And theiſe Piſſemyres ben grete as Houndes: ſo that no man dar come to tho Hilles: for the Piſſemyres wolde aſſaylen hem and devouren hem anon: ſo that no man may gete of that Gold, but be gret ſleighte. And therfore whan it is gret hete, the Piſſemyres reſten hem in the Erthe, from pryme of the Day in to Noon; and than the folk of the Contree taken Camayles, Dromedaries, and Hors and other Beſtes, and gon thidre, and chargen hem in alle haſte that thei may. And aftre that thei fleen awey, in alle haſte that the Beſtes may go, or the Piſſemyres comen out of the Erthe. And in other tymes, whan it is not ſo hote, and that the Piſſemyres ne reſten hem not in the Erthe, than thei getten Gold be this Sotyltee; Thei taken Mares, that han zonge Coltes or Foles, and leyn upon the Mares voyde Veſſelles made therfore; and thei ben alle open aboven, and hangynge lowe to the Erthe : and thanne thei ſende ſorth tho Mares, for to paſturen aboute tho Hilles, and with holden the Foles with hem at home. And whan the Piſſemyres ſen tho Veſſelles, thei lepen in anon and thei han this Kynde, that thei lete no thing ben empty among hem, but anon thei fillen it, be it what maner of thing that it be : and ſo thei fillen tho Veſſelles with Gold. And whan that the folk ſuppoſen, that the Veſſelle ben fulle, thei putten forthe anon the zonge Foles, and maken hem to nyzen aftre hire Dames; and than anon the Mares retornen towardes hire Foles, with hire charges of Gold : and than men diſchargen hem, and geten Gold y now be this ſotyltee. For the Piſſemyres wole ſuffren Beſtes to gon and paſturen amonges hem; but no man in no wyſe.

Herodotus, iii. 102-105.

X.

THE prince's battalion at one period was very hard pressed, and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill, saying,—'Sir, the knights and others such as be about the prince your son are fiercely fought withal, and are sore handled, wherefore they desire you, that you and your battle will come and aid them, for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they will have much ado.' Then the king said,—'Is my son dead, or hurt, or to the earth felled?' 'No, sir,' quoth the knight, 'but he is hardly matched, wherefore he hath need of your aid.' 'Well,' said the king, 'return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them, that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive; and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs, for, if God be pleased, I will this journey be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him.' Then the knight returned again to them, and showed the king's words. The which greatly encouraged him, and they repined in that they had sent to the king as they did.

Herodotus, ix. 21, 60, 61 ; i. 37-39.

XI.

IT was said to the king, when the matter could no longer be hid,—'Sir, advise you well; ye have need of good counsel shortly, for the Londoners and other cometh against you with great puissance, and hath made your cousin their chief captain.' When the king heard that, he was sore abashed, and wist not what to say, for all his spirits trembled; for then he saw well the matters were likely to go evil against him, without he could get puissance to resist them. Then the king said,—'Sirs, make all our men ready, and send throughout my realm for aid, for I will not fly before my subjects.' 'Sir,' quoth they, 'the matter goeth evil, for your men do leave you and fly away: ye have lost the one half, and all the rest are sore abashed, and loseth countenance.' 'Why?' quoth the king, 'what will ye that I shall do?' 'Sir, leave the field, for ye are not able to keep it, and get you into some strong castle till your brother come, who is advertised of all this matter: and when he is come he shall find some remedy, either by force of arms, or else by treaty, at least to bring you into some better case than ye be in at this present time, for if ye keep the field peradventure some will forsake you and go to him.' To this counsel the king agreed.

Herodotus, vii. 14-18, 234, *sqq.;* viii. 68, 100-103.

XII.

THIS old man and his slaves landed immediately, and advanced towards the subterranean dwelling with a countenance that showed some hope; but when they saw the earth had been newly removed, they changed colour, particularly the old man. They lifted up the stone and went down; they called the young man by his name, but he not answering, their fears increased; they went down to seek him, and at length found him lying upon the bed, with the knife in his heart; for I had not power to take it out. At this sight they cried out lamentably, which increased my sorrow: the old man fell down in a swoon. The slaves, to give him air, brought him up in their arms, and laid him at the foot of the tree where I was; but notwithstanding all the pains they took to recover him, the unfortunate father continued a long while in that condition, and made them oftener than once despair of his life; but at last he came to himself. Then the slaves brought up his son's corpse, dressed in his best apparel, and when they had made a grave they put him into it. The old man, supported by two slaves, and his face covered with tears, threw the first earth upon him; after which the slaves filled up the grave.

Herodotus, i. 34, *sqq.*, 44, 45.

XIII.

IN his sleep, so he said, he fancied that the supreme god of his fathers had called him into the presence of all the gods of Carthage, who were sitting on their thrones in council. There he received a solemn charge to invade Italy, and one of the heavenly council went with him and with his army to guide him on his way. He went on, and his guide commanded him, 'See that thou look not behind thee.' But after a while, impatient of the restraint, he turned to look back, and there he beheld a huge and monstrous form, thick-set all over with serpents: wherever it moved, orchards and woods and houses fell crashing before it. He asked his guide, in wonder, what that monstrous form was. The god answered, 'Thou seest the desolation of Italy: go on thy way straight forward, and cast no look behind.'

Herodotus, vi. 82; vii. 12-18.

XIV.

TO the westward of this city is a spacious forest, formerly the abode of a boar, who from his amazing size and supposed ferocity, was the terror of the whole neighbourhood. In the same forest lived a herdsman, who tended a large herd of cattle: but as they usually pastured in the open parts of the wood, he never approached the haunts of this terrible animal. But it happened one day that a part of his herd had strayed to some distance, and it became necessary that he should follow them. In the course of his search he discovered a hawthorn tree, the fruit of which was then ripe, and seeing great quantities of it on the ground could not refrain from stopping to fill his pockets. He did so, and was going to depart when he discovered the boar, who came straight up to the same tree, under which he had for many preceding days found a plentiful repast. The poor herdsman was half dead with fear: but to fly was hopeless, and his only resource was to climb up into the tree, where he hoped to remain undiscovered.

Herodotus, i. 36, 110, *sqq.*

XV.

UNLUCKILY the boar, after devouring the scanty gleanings which had been left under the tree, happened t scent the ample stores contained in the man's pockets, an being disappointed in his attempts to reach the preciou magazine, became furious with rage, foamed at the mouth and, whetting his tusks against the roots of the tree, shook i with such violence that the poor herdsman considered hi destruction as inevitable. In this extremity he fortunatel bethought himself of emptying his pockets, and at the sam time gathering all the haws within his reach, showered them down so profusely that the boar was satisfied, and after plentiful dinner appeared disposed to take his rest. The artful herdsman now lowered himself so far as to reach with his fingers the back of the animal, which he began to scratch with such dexterity that the boar, who was hitherto unaccustomed to such luxury, closed his eyes and abandoned himself to the most delicious slumber, at which instant the herdsman drawing a long knife with which he was provided, suddenly pierced him to the heart.

Herodotus, i. 36, 110.

XVI.

AND ȝee ſchulle undirſtonde, that no man that is mortelle, ne may not approchen to that *Paradys*. For be Londe no man may go for wylde beſtes, that ben in the Deſertes, and for the highe Mountaynes and gret huge Roches, that no man may paſſe by, for the derke places that ben there, and that manye: And be the Ryveres may no man go; for the water rennethe ſo rudely and ſo ſcharply, becauſe that it comethe doun ſo outrageouſly from the highe places aboven.

that it rennethe in ſo grete Wawes, that no Schipp may not rowe ne ſeyle azenes it: and the Watre rorethe ſo, and makethe ſo huge noyſe, and ſo gret tempeſt, that no man may here other in the Schipp, thoughe he cryede with alle the craft that he cowde, in the hyeſte voys that he myghte. Many grete Lordes hau aſſayed with gret wille many tymes for to paſſen be the Ryveres toward *Paradys*, with fulle grete Compaynyes: but thei myghte not ſpeden in hire Viage; and manye dyeden for weryneſſe of rowynge aȝenſt tho ſtronge Wawes; and many of hem becamen blynde, and many deve, for the noyſe of the Water: and sume weren periſſcht and loſte, with inne the Wawes: So that no mortelle man may approche to that place, with outen ſpecyalle grace of God: ſo that of that place I can ſeye zou no more. And therfore I ſchalle holde me ſtille, and retornen to that that I have ſeen.

Herodotus, ii. 28-34.

XVII.

WHILE everything was a preparing, the King and Earl communed together in the court; and, as it was informed me, King Richard had a greyhound called Mathe, who always waited upon the King, and would know no man else: for whensoever the King did ride, he that kept the greyhound did let him loose, and he would straight run to the King and fawn upon him, and leap with his forefeet upon the King's shoulders; and as the King and the Earl talked together in the court, the greyhound, who was wont to leap upon the King, left the King and came to the Earl, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do to the King. The Earl, who knew not the greyhound, demanded of the King what the greyhound would do. 'Cousin,' quoth the King, 'it is a great good token to you, and an evil sign to me.' 'Sir, how know you that?' quoth the Earl. 'I know it well,' quoth the King; 'the greyhound maketh you cheer this day as King of England, as ye shall be, and I shall be deposed; the greyhound hath this knowledge naturally; therefore take him to you, he will follow you, and forsake me.' The other understood well those words, and cherished the greyhound, who would never after follow King Richard, but followed the Earl.

Herodotus, i. 120.

XVIII.

THEY came again at the appointed time to visit their retreat in the forest; but how great was their surprise to find Cassim's body taken away, and some of their bags of gold. 'We are certainly discovered,' said the captain, 'and shall be undone if we do not take care, and speedily apply some remedy: otherwise we shall insensibly lose all the riches which our ancestors have been so many years amassing together with so much pains and danger. All that we can think of this loss which we have sustained is, that the thief whom we have surprised had the secret of opening the door, and we came luckily as he was coming out; but his body being removed, and with it some of our money, plainly shows that he has an accomplice; and as it is likely that there were but two who had got this secret, and one has been caught, we must look narrowly after the other. What say you to it, my lads?'

All the robbers thought the captain's proposal so reasonable that they unanimously approved of it, and agreed that they must lay all other enterprises aside, to follow this closely, and not to give it up till they had succeeded.

'I expected no less,' said the captain, 'from your courage and bravery; but first of all, one of you who is bold, artful, and enterprising, must go into the town, dressed like a traveller and stranger, and exert all his contrivance to try if he can hear any talk of the death of the man whom we have killed, as he deserved, and to endeavour to find out who he was, and where he lived.

Herodotus, ii. 121; iv. 14.

XIX.

WHEN Sir Walter presented these burgesses to the King, they kneeled down, and held up their hands and said, 'Gentle King, behold here we six, who were burgesses of Calais, and great merchants; we have brought the keys of the town and of the castle, and we submit ourselves clearly into your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered great pain. Sir, we beseech your grace to have mercy and pity on us, through your high noblesse.' Then all the earls and barons, and others that were there, wept for pity. The King looked felly on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais for the great damage and displeasures they had done him on the sea before. Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off. Then every man required the King for mercy, but he would hear no man on that behalf. Then Sir Walter Manny said, 'Ah, noble King, for God's sake refrain your courage; ye have the name of sovereign noblesse, therefore now do not a thing that should blemish your renown, nor to give a cause to some to speak of you villainously; every man will say it is a great cruelty to put to death such honest persons, who by their own wills put themselves into your grace to save their company.' Then the King wryed away from him, and commanded to send for the hangman, and said, 'They of Calais have caused many of my men to be slaine, wherefore these shall die in likewise.' Then the Queen, being great with child, kneeled down, and sore weeping, said, 'Ah, gentle Sir, sith I passed the sea in great peril, I have desired nothing of you, therefore now I humbly require you, in the honour of the son of the Virgin Mary, and for the love of me, that ye will take mercy of these six burgesses.' The King beheld the Queen, and stood still in study a space, and then said, 'Ah, dame, I would ye had been as now in some other place, ye make such request to me that I cannot deny you, wherefore I give them to you to do your pleasure with them.' Then the Queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure, and then she gave each of them six nobles, and made them to be brought out of the host in safeguard, and set at their liberty.

Herodotus, i. 45; iii. 14; vii. 27-29, 38, 39.

XX.

NOW King Ine once made him a feast to his lords and great men in one of his royal houses; and the house was hung with goodly curtains, and the table was spread with vessels of gold and silver, and there were meats and drinks brought from all parts of the world, and Ine and his lords ate and drank and were merry. Now on the next day Ine set forth from that house to go into another that he had, and Æthelburh his Queen went with him. So men took down the curtains and carried off the goodly vessels, and left the house bare and empty. Moreover Æthelburh the Queen spake unto the steward who had the care of that house, saying, 'When the King is gone, fill the house with rubbish and with the dung of cattle, and lay in the bed where the King slept a sow with her litter of pigs.' So the steward did as the Queen commanded.

So when Ine and the Queen had gone forth about a mile from the house, the Queen said unto Ine, 'Turn back, my lord, to the house whence we have come, for it will be greatly for thy good so to do.' So Ine hearkened to the voice of his wife, and turned back unto the house. So he found all the curtains and the goodly vessels gone, and the house full of rubbish and made foul with the dung of cattle, and a sow and her pigs lying in the bed where Ine and Æthelburh his Queen had slept. So Æthelburh spake unto Ine her husband, saying, 'Seest thou, O King, how the pomp of this world passeth away? Where are now all the goodly things, the curtains and the vessels, and the meats and drinks brought from all parts of the earth, wherewith thou and thy lords held your feast yesterday? How foul is now the house which but yesterday was goodly and fit for a King! How foul a beast lieth in the bed where a King and Queen slept only the last night! Are not all the things of this life a breath, yea smoke, and a wind that passeth away? Are they not a river that runneth by, and no man seeth the water any more?'

Herodotus, i. 30, *sqq.*, 207; ii. 133; iii. 40; ix. 82.

XXI.

AND alſo *Machomete* loved wel a gode Heremyte, that duelled in the Deſertes, a Myle fro Mount *Synay*, in the Weye that men gon fro *Arabye* toward *Caldee*, and toward *Ynde*, o day journey fro the See, where the Marchauntes of *Venyſe* comen often for Marchandiſe. And ſo often wente *Machomete* to this Heremyte, that alle his men weren wrothe; for he wolde gladly here this Heremyte preche, and make his men wake alle nyghte: and therefore his men thoughten to putte the Heremyte to Dethe: and ſo it befelle upon a nyght, that *Machomete* was dronken of gode Wyn, and he felle on ſlepe;

and his men toke *Machometes* Swerd out of his Schethe, whils he ſlepte, and there with thei ſlowghe this Heremyte; and putten his Swerd alle blody in his Schethe azen. And at morwe, whan he fond the Heremyte ded, he was fulle ſory and wrothe, and wolde have don his men to Dethe: but thei alle with on accord ſeyd, that he him ſelf had ſlayn him, when he was dronken, and ſchewed him his Swerd alle blody: and he trowed, that thei hadden ſeyd ſothe. And than he curſed the Wyn, and alle tho that drynken it. And therefore *Sarrazines*, that be devout, drynken nevere no Wyn: but ſume drynken it prevyly. For zif thei dronken it openly, thei ſcholde ben repreved. But thei drynken gode Beverage and ſwete and noryſhynge, that is made of Galamelle: and that is that men maken Sugar of, that is of ryghte gode ſavour: and it is gode for the Breeſt.

Herodotus, ii. 173; iii. 29, *sqq.* 36; vi. 84.

XXII.

THE city was very strong and well victualled, so as there appeared not, when the second year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first year's siege. In the end, one Lagoras, a Cretan, found means how to enter the town. The castle itself was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable: as also the town-wall adjoining to the castle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner situated upon steep rocks, and hardly accessible, that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carcasses of horses and other beasts, yea and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by Lagoras, that the ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food, which was there never wanting, used to fly up unto the top of the rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himself, and concluded, that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the king, who approved his judgment, and gave unto him the leading of such men as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The success was agreeable to that which Lagoras had afore conceived; and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and (whilst a general assault was made) entered the town in that part which was, at other times unguarded, then unthought upon.

Herodotus, i. 84.

XXIII.

ONE day I heard something walking and blowing or panting as it walked. I advanced towards that side from whence I heard the noise, and upon my approach, the thing puffed and blew harder, as if it had been running away from me. I followed the noise, and the thing seemed to stop sometimes, but always fled and blew as I approached. I followed it so long and so far till at last I perceived a light resembling a star, I went on towards that light, and sometimes lost sight of it, but always found it again, and at last discovered that it came through a hole in the rock, large enough for a man to get out at.

Upon this I stopped some time to rest myself, being much fatigued with pursuing this discovery so fast. Afterwards coming up to the hole, I went out at it, and found myself upon the bank of the sea. I leave you to guess the excess of my joy; it was such that I could scarce persuade myself of its being real. Presently I recovered my composure, and found the thing which I had followed and heard puff and blow, to be a creature which came out of the sea, and was accustomed to enter at that hole to feed upon the dead carcasses.

Pausanias, iv. 18, 4

XXIV.

THIS tyrant was a cruel oppressor, a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him, and one that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the hangman. In these qualities his wife Apega was very fitly matched with him ; since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives, whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their jewels and apparel. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an image to be made lively representing her, and appareled it with such costly garments as she used to wear. But it was indeed an engine serving to torment men. Hereof he made use when he meant to try the virtue of his rhetoric. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous, he would bring him into the room where this counterfeit Apega stood, and there use all his art of persuasion to get what he desired, as it were by goodwill. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses, then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife Apega (who sat by in a chair) could persuade more effectually. So he led him to the image, that rose up, and opened the arms, as it were, for embracement. Those arms were full of sharp iron nails, the like whereof were also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes ; and herewith she griped the poor wretch to the pleasure of the tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worse, was Nabis in his government.

Polybius, xiii. 7.

XXV.

THE confederates might still have retreated without any disparagement to their honour; but after a short consultation, they resolved to devote themselves for the good of their country, and fall together. They fought ten hours without intermission: till at length, exhausted but not conquered, they all (twelve only excepted) lay lifeless on the field of action. Each had four or five enemies around him, whom he had despatched before his fall. Bernard Monk, the faithless guide of the invaders, riding in the evening over the field of slaughter, exclaimed triumphantly,—'This is indeed a bath of roses!' An expiring Swiss heard him, raised himself on his knees, snatched a large stone, and hurled it at the head of the vaunting traitor, who died three days after of the contusion. The twelve who, when no hopes remained, retired from the carnage, with difficulty escaped the hands of the executioner, to which the law of Sempach doomed all who turned away from an enemy.

Herodotus, vii. 223, *sqq*., 229, *sqq*.

XXVI.

IN that Kingdom of *Abcaz* is a gret Marvaylle. For a Provynce of the Contree, that hathe wel in circuyt 3 iorneyes, that men clepen Hanyſon, is all covered with Derkneſſe, withouten ony brightneſſe or light; ſo that no man may ſee ne here, ne no man dar entren in to hem. And natheles, thei of the Contree ſeyn, that ſom tyme men heren voys of folk, and Hors nyȝenge, and Cokkes crowynge. And men witen wel, that men dwellen there: but thei knowe not what men. And thei ſeyn, that the Derkneſſe befelle be Myracle of God. For a curſed Emperour of *Perſie*, that highte *Saures*, purſuede alle Criſtene men, to deſtroye hem, and to compelle hem to make

Sacrifiſe to his Ydoles; and rood with grete Hoſt, in alle that ever he myghte, for to confounde the Criſtene men. And thanne in that Contree, dwelleden manye gode Criſtene men, the whiche that laſten hire Godes, and wolde han fled in to *Grece:* and whan they weren in a playn, that highte *Megon*, anon this curſed Emperour mett with hem, with his Hooſt, for to have ſlayn hem, and hewen hem to peces. And anon the Criſtene men kneleden to the grounde, and made hire preyeres to God, to ſokoure hem. And anon a gret thikke Clowde cam, and covered the Emperour and alle his Hooſt: and ſo thei enduren in that manere, that thei ne mowe not gon out, on no ſyde: and ſo ſchulle thei ever more abyden in Derkneſſe, tille the day of Dome, be the Myracle of God. And thanne the Criſtene men wenten, where hem lykede beſt, at hire own pleſance, with outen lettynge of ony Creature; and hire enemyes encloſed and confounded in Derkneſſe, with outen any ſtrok.

Herodotus, ii. 141; iii. 25, 26; iv. 7, 31.

XXVII.

AMONG the Britons the two greatest tribes are the Caledonians and the Mæatæ; for even the names of the others, as may be said, have merged in these. The Mæatæ dwell close to the wall which divides the island into two parts—the Caledonians beyond them. Each of these people inhabit mountains wild and waterless, and plains desert and marshy, having neither wall, nor cities, nor tilth, but living by pasturage, by the chace, and on certain berries: for of their fish, though inexhaustible, they never taste. They live in tents, naked and barefooted, having wives in common, and rearing the whole of their progeny. Their state is chiefly democratical, and they are above all things delighted by pillage; they fight from chariots having small swift horses: they fight also on foot, are very fleet when running, and most resolute when compelled to stand. Their arms consist of a shield and a short spear, having a brazen knob at the extremity of the shaft, that when shaken it may terrify the enemy by the noise. They are capable of enduring hunger and thirst, and hardships of every kind, for when plunged in the marshes they abide there many days, with their heads only out of water, and in the woods they subsist on bark and roots. They prepare for all emergencies a certain kind of food, of which, if they eat only so much as the size of a bean, they neither hunger nor thirst. Such then is the island of Britannia; for it is an island, and so at that time was clearly ascertained to be. Its length is 7132 stadia: its greatest breadth, 2310, its least, 300.

Herodotus, i. 203, *sqq.*; v. 6-16; vii. 64; iv. 177.

XXVIII.

THERE ben alſo in that Contree a kynde of Snayles, that ben ſo grete, that many perſones may loggen hem in here Schelles, as men wolde done in a litylle Hous. And other Snayles there ben, that ben fulle grete, but not ſo huge as the other. And of theiſe Snayles, and of gret white Wormes, that han blake Hedes, that ben als grete as a mannes thighe, and sõme leſſe, as grete Wormes that men fynden there in Wodes, men maken Vyaunde Rialle, for the Kyng and for other grete Lordes. And ȝif a man, that is maryed, dye in that Contree, men buryen his Wif with him alle quyk. For men ſeyn there, that it is reſoun, that ſche make him companye in that other World, as ſche did in this.

Herodotus, v. 5; iv. 183.

XXIX.

HAVING thus spoken, she let loose a hare from her bosom, using it as a kind of omen; and when it ran propitiously for them, the whole multitude, rejoicing, gave a shout. And Bunduice, extending her hand towards heaven, exclaimed:—'I give thee thanks, Adraste: and I, a female, invoke thee, a female also; neither ruling over the burthen-bearing Egyptians, like Nitocris, nor over the Syrian merchants, like Semiramis, for such things we have already learnt from the Romans, nor indeed over the Romans themselves, as did first Messalina, then Agrippina, and at present Nero, who has indeed the name of a man, but is in act a woman, a proof of which is, that he sings and plays on the harp and beautifies his person; but ruling over British men, unskilled indeed in husbandry or handicraft, but having thoroughly learned to fight: who deem all other things common, and even children and wives common also, so that these in consequence display equal courage with their husbands. Reigning therefore over such men and such women, I pray and entreat thee for victory and security and liberty in their behalf, against men who are revilers, unjust, insatiable, impious, if forsooth we must give the title of men to such as bathe in tepid water, live on dressed meats, drink undiluted wine, anoint themselves with spikenard, repose luxuriously, making favourites of boys and those no longer youthful, and are charmed by the strains of an harper, and he a wretched one. Let not then a Neronia or a Domitia tyrannize over me or you: but let such a songstress rule the Romans, for they desire to be enslaved to that woman, whose tyranny they have so long put up with: but mayst thou, O Queen, alone have dominion over us for ever.'

Herodotus, i. 71, 155; iv. 114; v. 49.

XXX.

THE first care of the robbers after this was to go into the cave. They found all the bags which Cassim had brought to the door, to be more ready to load his mules with, and carried them all back again to their places, without perceiving what Ali Baba had taken away before. Then holding a council and deliberating upon the matter, they guessed that Cassim when he was in could not get out again; but they could not imagine how he got in. It came into their heads that he might have got down by the top of the cave; but the opening by which it received light was so high, and the top of the rock so inaccessible without, besides that nothing showed that he had done so, that they believed it impracticable for them to find out. That he came in at the door they could not satisfy themselves, unless he had the secret of making it open. In short none of them could imagine which way he entered; for they were all persuaded that nobody knew their secret, little imagining that Ali Baba had watched them. But, however it happened, it was a matter of the greatest importance to them to secure their riches. They agreed therefore to cut Cassim's body into four quarters, and to hang two on one side and two on the other, within the door of the cave, to terrify any person that should attempt the same thing, determining not to return to the cave till the stench of the body was completely exhaled. So having closed the place of their retreat, they mounted their horses, and went to beat the roads again, and to attack the caravans they should meet.

Herodotus, ii. 121.

XXXI.

THE Watre of that See is fulle bytter and Salt: and ȝiff the Erthe were mayd moyſt and weet with that Watre, it wolde nevere bere Fruyt. And the Erthe and the Lond chaungeth often his colour. And it caſtethe out of the Watre, a thing that men clepen Aſpalt: alſo gret peces, as the gretneſſe of an Hors, every day, and on alle ſydes. And fro *Jerusalem* to that See, is 200 Furlonges. That See is in lengthe 580 Furlonges, and in brede 150 Furlonges: and it is clept the dede See, for it rennethe nought, but is evere unmevable. And nouther manne, beſt, ne no thing that berethe lif in him, ne may not dyen in that See: and that hathe ben preved manye tymes, be men that han differved to ben dede, that han ben caſt there inne, and left there inne, 3 dayes or 4, and thei ne myghte never dye ther inne: for it reſceyvethe no thing with inne him, that berethe lif. And no man may drynken of the Watre, for bytterneſſe. And ȝif a man caſte Iren there in, it wole flete aboven. And ȝif men caſte a Fedre there in, it wole ſynke to the botme; and theiſe ben thinges aȝenſt kynde. And alſo the Cytees there weren loſt, be cauſe of Synne. And there beſyden growen trees, that beren fulle faire Apples, and faire of colour to beholde: but whoſo brekethe hem or cuttethe hem in two, he ſchalle fynde with in hem Coles and Cyndres; in tokene that, be Wratthe of God, the Cytees and the Lond weren brente and ſonken in to Helle.

Herodotus, iii. 23; iv. 181; vi. 119.

V.—SATIRICAL.

I.

NOW it is notorious that the savages in America knew nothing of agriculture when first discovered by the Europeans, but lived a most vagabond, disorderly, unrighteous life,—rambling from place to place, prodigally resting upon the spontaneous luxuries of nature, without tasking her generosity to yield them anything more; whereas it has been most unquestionably shown, that Heaven intended the earth should be ploughed, and sown, and measured, and laid out into cities and towns and farms, and country seats, and pleasure grounds, and public gardens, all which the Indians knew nothing about, therefore they did not improve the talents Providence had bestowed on them, therefore they were careless stewards, therefore they had no right to the soil, therefore they deserved to be exterminated.

It is true the savages might plead that they drew all the benefits from the land which their simple wants required; they found plenty of game to hunt, which, together with the roots and uncultivated fruits of the earth, furnished a sufficient variety for their frugal repasts; and that as heaven merely designed the earth to form the abode and satisfy the wants of man; so long as those purposes were answered, the will of Heaven was accomplished. But this only proves how undeserving they were of the blessings around them; they were so much the more savages for not having more wants: for knowledge is in some degree an increase of desires, and it is this superiority both in the number and magnitude of his desires, that distinguishes the man from the beast. Therefore, the Indians in not having more wants were very unreasonable animals: and it was but just that they should make way for the Europeans, who had a thousand wants to their one: and therefore would turn the earth to more account, and by cultivating it, more truly fulfil the will of Heaven.

Plato, *Protag.* 321; *Repub.* 372; *Crit.* 114, *sqq.*

II.

BUT a more irresistible right than either that I have mentioned, and the one which will be the most readily admitted by my reader, provided he be blessed with bowels of charity and philanthropy, is the right acquired by civilisation. All the world knows the lamentable state in which these poor savages were found. Not only deficient in the comforts of life, but what is still worse, most piteously and unfortunately blind to the miseries of their situation. But no sooner did the benevolent inhabitants of Europe behold their sad condition, than they immediately went to work to ameliorate and improve it. They introduced among them rum, gin, and brandy, and the other comforts of life, and it is astonishing to read how soon the poor savages learnt to estimate these blessings: they likewise made known to them a thousand remedies by which the most inveterate diseases are alleviated and healed; and that they might comprehend the benefits and enjoy the comforts of these medicines, they previously introduced among them the diseases which they were calculated to cure. By these and a variety of other methods was the condition of the poor savage wonderfully improved; they acquired a thousand wants of which they had before been ignorant, and as he has most sources of happiness who has most wants to be gratified, they were doubtless rendered a much happier race of beings.

Plato, *Legg.* 678; *Repub.* 373.

III.

LET us suppose that certain aërial voyagers, finding this planet to be nothing but a howling wilderness, inhabited by us poor savages and wild beasts, shall take formal possession of it, in the name of his most gracious and philosophic excellency, the man in the moon. Finding, however, that their numbers are incompetent to hold it in complete subjection, on account of the ferocious barbarity of its inhabitants, they shall take five of our kings as hostages, and returning to their native planet, shall carry them to court as the Indian chiefs were led about as spectacles in the courts of Europe. Then making such obeisance as the etiquette of the Court requires, they shall address the puissant man in the moon in the following terms:—'Most serene and mighty Potentate, whose dominions extend as far as eye can reach, who ridest on the Great Bear, usest the Sun for a looking-glass, and maintainest unrivalled control over tides, madmen, and sea-crabs: we, thy liege subjects, have just returned from a voyage of discovery, in the course of which we have landed and taken possession of that obscure little dirty planet which thou beholdest rolling at a distance. The five uncouth monsters, which we have brought into this august presence, were once very important chiefs among their fellow-savages, who are a race of beings totally destitute of the common attributes of humanity; and differing in everything from the inhabitants of the moon, inasmuch as they carry their heads upon their shoulders, instead of under their arms, have two eyes instead of one, are utterly destitute of tails, and of a variety of unseemly complexions, particularly of a horrible whiteness instead of pea-green.

Lucian, *Veræ Histor.* i. 9.   Plato, *Timæus*, 22 B. *sqq.*

IV.

WE have moreover found these miserable savages sunk into a state of the utmost ignorance and depravity, every man shamelessly living with his own wife and rearing his own children, instead of indulging in that community of wives enjoined by the law of nature as expounded by the philosophers of the moon. In a word, they have scarcely a gleam of true philosophy among them, but are in fact utter heretics, ignoramuses, and barbarians. Taking compassion, therefore, on the sad condition of these sublunary wretches, we have endeavoured, while we remained on their planet, to introduce among them the light of reason, and the comforts of the moon. We have treated them to mouthfuls of moonshine, and draughts of nitrous oxyde, which they swallowed with incredible voracity, particularly the females, and we have likewise endeavoured to instil into them the precepts of lunar philosophy. We have insisted upon their renouncing the contemptible shackles of religion and common sense, and adoring the profound omnipotent and all-perfect energy, and the ecstatic, immovable, immutable perfection. But such was the unparalleled obstinacy of these wretched savages, that they persisted in cleaving to their wives, and adhering to their religion, and absolutely set at nought the sublime doctrines of the moon; nay, among other abominable heresies, they even went so far as blasphemously to declare, that this ineffable planet was made of nothing more nor less than green cheese!

Lucian, *Veræ Histor.* ii. 3. Plato, *Euthydem.* 303 B. *sqq.*

V.

NOTHING so soon awakens the malevolent passions as the facility of gratification. The courts of law would never be so constantly crowded with petty, vexatious, and disgraceful suits, were it not for the herds of pettifogging lawyers that infest them. These tamper with the passions of the lower and more ignorant classes: who, as if poverty were not a sufficient misery in itself, are always ready to heighten it by the bitterness of litigation. They are in law what quacks are in medicine—exciting the malady for the purpose of profiting by the cure; and retarding the cure for the purpose of augmenting the fees. Where one destroys the constitution, the other impoverishes the purse: and it may likewise be observed that a patient who has once been under the hands of a quack is ever after dabbling in drugs, and poisoning himself with infallible remedies: and an ignorant man who has once meddled with the law under the auspices of one of these empirics is for ever after embroiling himself with his neighbours, and impoverishing himself with successful lawsuits. My readers will excuse this digression into which I have been unwarily betrayed: but I could not avoid giving a cool, unprejudiced account of an abomination too prevalent in this excellent city, and with the effects of which I am acquainted to my cost, having been nearly ruined by a lawsuit which was unjustly decided against me, and my ruin having been completed by another which was decided in my favour.

Plato, *Theætet.* 172.

VI.

IN the sage assemblies I have noticed, the philosophic reader will at once perceive the faint germs of those sapient convocations, called popular meetings, prevalent in our day. Thither resort all those idlers and 'squires of low degree,' who like rags hang loose upon the back of society, and are ready to be blown about by every wind of doctrine. Cobblers abandoned their stalls, and hastened thither to give lessons on political economy; blacksmiths left their handicraft, and suffered their fires to go out, while they blew the bellows and stirred up the fire of faction; and even tailors, though but shreds and patches, the ninth parts of humanity, neglected their own measures to attend to the measures of government.

I should not forget to mention that these popular meetings were always held at a noted tavern, for houses of that description have always been found the most congenial nurseries of politics: abounding with those genial streams which give strength and sustenance to faction. We are told that the ancient Germans had an admirable mode of treating any question of importance: they first deliberated upon it when drunk, and afterwards reconsidered it when sober. The shrewder mobs of America dislike having two minds upon a subject, but determine and act upon it drunk: by which means a world of cold and tedious speculations is dispensed with, and as it is universally allowed that when a man is drunk he sees double: it follows most conclusively that he sees twice as well as his sober neighbours.

Aristophanes, *Vespæ.* 86, *sqq.*; 1100, *sqq.* Plato, *Euthydem.* 303 B.

VII.

Hard. I NO longer know my own house. It's turned all topsy-turvy. His servants have got drunk already. I'll bear it no longer; and yet, from my respect for his father, I'll be calm. (*To him.*) Mr. Marlow, your servant. I'm your very humble servant. (*Bowing low.*)

Marl. Sir, your humble servant. (*Aside.*) What's to be the wonder now?

Hard. I believe, Sir, you must be sensible, Sir, that no man alive ought to be more welcome than your father's son, Sir. I hope you think so?

Marl. I do from my soul, Sir. I don't want much en-treaty. I generally make my father's son welcome wherever he goes.

Hard. I believe you do, from my soul, Sir. But though I say nothing to your own conduct, that of your servants is insufferable. Their manner of drinking is setting a very bad example in this house, I assure you.

Marl. I protest, my very good Sir, that is no fault of mine. If they don't drink as they ought, they are to blame. I ordered them not to spare the cellar. I did, I assure you. (*To the side-scene.*) Here, let one of my servants come up. (*To him.*) My positive directions were, that, as I did not drink myself, they should make up for my deficiencies below.

Hard. Then they had your orders for what they do? I'm satisfied!

Marl. They had, I assure you. You shall hear from one of themselves.

Aristophanes, *Equites*, 89, *sqq.*, 728, *sqq.*

VIII.

MOST thinking people, I have heard you much abused. There is not a compound in the language but is strung fifty in a rope like onions by the *Morning Post*, and hurled in your teeth. You are called the mob, and when they have made you out to be the mob, you are called the scum of the people and the dregs of the people. I should like to know how you can be both. Take a basin of broth—not cheap soup, Mr. Wilberforce—not soup for the poor, at a penny a quart, as your mixture of horses' legs, brick-dust, and old shoes was denominated—but plain, wholesome patriotic beef or mutton-broth: take this, examine it, and you will find—mind I don't vouch for the fact, but I am told you will find—the dregs at the bottom and the scum at the top. I will endeavour to explain this to you. England is a large earthenware pipkin; John Bull is the beef thrown into it; taxes are the hot water he boils in; rotten boroughs are the fuel that blaze under the same pipkin; Parliament is the ladle that stirs the hodge-podge, and sometimes—but hold, I don't wish to pay Newgate a second visit. I leave you better off than you have been this many a day. You have a good house over your head, you have beat the French in Spain, the harvest has turned out well, the comet keeps its distance, and red slippers are hawked about in Constantinople for next to nothing: and for all this again and again I tell you you are indebted to Mr. Whitbread.

Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 497, *sqq.*

IX.

MY brother made as if he took the glass, and looked to see if the colour was good, and put it to his nose, to see if it had a good flavour: then he made a low bow to the Barmecide to signify that he took the liberty to drink his health; and lastly, he appeared to drink with all the signs of a man that drinks with pleasure. 'My Lord,' said he, 'this is very excellent wine, but I think it is not strong enough.' 'If you would have stronger,' said the Barmecide, 'you need only speak, for I have several sorts in my cellar. Try how you like this.' Upon which he made as if he poured out another glass to himself, and then to my brother; and did this so often that Schacabac, feigning to be intoxicated with the wine, and acting a drunken man, lifted up his hand, and gave the Barmecide such a box on the ear as made him fall down. He was going to give him another blow, but the Barmecide, holding up his hand to ward it off, cried out, 'Are you mad?' Then my brother, making as if he had come to his senses again, said, 'My Lord, you have been so good as to admit your slave into your house, and give him a great treat, you should have been satisfied with making me eat, and not have obliged me to drink wine, for I told you beforehand, that it might occasion me to fail in my respect to you. I am very sorry for it, and beg you a thousand pardons.' Scarce had he finished these words, when the Barmecide, instead of being in a passion, fell a laughing with all his might. 'It is a long time,' said he, 'that I have been seeking a man of your character.'

Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1218. Plato, *Repub.* 611 E; *Phædrus*, 247 E; *Symposium.*
Lucian, *Symposium.* Xenophon, *Symposium; Anabasis*, vii. 3, 21.
Euripides, *Cyclops.* 149, *sqq.*

X.

ENGLISHMEN, it must be owned, are bunglers in the matter of education. 'I consider a human soul,' says Addison, 'without education, like marble in the quarry, which shows none of its inherent beauties till the skill of the polisher fetches out the colours, makes the surface shine, and discovers every ornament, cloud, spot, and vein that runs through the body of it.' Now it is not to be denied that as far as studios, workshops, sculptors, polishers, and indefatigable industry are concerned, no nation in the world evinces a heartier desire to furbish up the human soul than the people of our own well-meaning island. We will not allow that we are not from one end of the country to the other as busy as bees, grinding away at the surface of the rising generation, searching for the ornaments, exhibiting the clouds, and fixing the spots and veins that run through the body of that living marble, from which it is the joy of the artist 'to clear away superfluous matter,' and 'to remove rubbish,' in order that the great, the wise, and the good, may be simply 'disinterred and brought to light.' The machinery at command is immense, the disposition to turn out a creditable article undoubted, the expense incurred frightful. But with all our solemn labour and our good intentions, and our evident conceit, we don't get on. Our most elegant marbles we send for extra polish to Oxford and Cambridge, and for the most part blocks they go in and blocks they come out. Exceptional specimens no doubt there are, worthy to be cherished, and certain of eternal regard, statues that will find niches in every land, and honour in every age. But the bulk of the stone does not adequately represent either the money, the time, or the supposed labour spent in improving its quality.

Plato, *Protag.* 325, 326; *Hippias Major*, 292, D.; *Sympos.* 210. Lucian, *Somnium*, 6, *sqq.* Aristoph. *Nub.* 1202.

XI.

BUT the worst of the matter was, that just about this time, the mob, since called the sovereign people, like Balaam's ass, began to grow more enlightened than its rider, and exhibited a strange desire of governing itself. This was another effect of the 'universal acquirements' of William the Testy. In some of his pestilent researches among the rubbish of antiquity, he was struck with admiration at the institution of public tables among the Lacedæmonians, where they discussed topics of a general and interesting nature—at the schools of the philosophers, where they engaged in profound disputes upon politics and morals, where greybeards were taught the rudiments of wisdom, and youths learned to become little men before they were boys. 'There is nothing,' said the ingenious Kieft, shutting up the book—'there is nothing more essential to the well management of a country than education among the people: the basis of a good government should be laid in the public mind.' Now this was true enough, but it was ever the wayward fate of William the Testy that when he thought right he was sure to go to work wrong. In the present instance he could scarcely eat or sleep until he had set on foot brawling debating societies among the simple citizens of new Amsterdam. This was the one thing wanting to complete his confusion. The honest Dutch burghers, though in truth but little given to argument or wordy altercation, yet by dint of often meeting together, fuddling themselves with strong drink, and listening to the harangues of some half-a-dozen oracles, soon became exceedingly wise, and, as is always the case when the mob is politically enlightened, exceedingly discontented.

Plato, *Critias*, 120 D. *sqq.; Legg.* 766 D. *sqq.;* 780 D.

XII.

I REMEMBER very well in a discourse one day with the King, when I happened to say, 'there were several thousand books among us written upon the art of government,' it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a prince or a minister. He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds, to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes, with some other obvious topics which are not worth considering. 'And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.'

Plato, *Politic.* 302, 303, *sqq.*

XIII.

'MY little friend Grildrig,' said the King, 'you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country; you have clearly proved that ignorance, idleness, and vice are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legislator; that laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied by those whose interest and abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. It does not appear, from all you have said, how any one perfection is required towards the procurement of any one station among you; much less that men are ennobled on account of their virtue; that priests are advanced for their piety or learning; soldiers for their conduct or valour; judges for their integrity; senators for the love of their country; or councillors for their wisdom. 'As for yourself,' continued the King, 'who have spent the greatest part of your life in travelling, I am disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many vices of your country. But by what I have gathered from your own relation, and the answers I have with much pains wringed from you, I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth.'

Plato, *Timæus*, 22, *sqq.*; *Repub.* 490 C.

XIV.

I SAID, there was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid. To this society all the rest of the people are slaves. For example, if a neighbour has a mind to my cow, he has a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must then hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law that any man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now, in this case, I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages: first, my lawyer, being practised almost from his cradle in defending falsehood, is quite out of his element when he would be an advocate for justice, which is an unnatural office he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill-will. The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would lessen the practice of the law.

Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 91, *sqq.* Plato, *Protag.* 311 B.; *Gorg.* 456.
Lucian, *Rhetorum præceptor.*

XV.

WE crossed a walk to the other part of the academy, where, as I have already said, the projectors in speculative learning resided.

The first professor I saw was in a very large room, with forty pupils about him. After salutation, observing me to look earnestly upon a frame, which took up the greatest part of both the length and breadth of the room, he said,—'Perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a project for improving speculative knowledge by practical mechanical operations. But the world would soon be sensible of its usefulness; and he flattered himself that a more noble, exalted thought never sprang in any other man's head. Every one knew how laborious the usual method is of attaining to arts and sciences; whereas, by his contrivance, the most ignorant person, at a reasonable charge, and with little bodily labour, might write books on philosophy, poetry, politics, laws, mathematics, and theology, without the least assistance from genius or study.'

Plato, *Amat.* 132; *Protag.* 315, 316. Lucian, *Rhetorum præceptor.*

XVI.

DICE-PLAY and such other foolish and pernicious games they know not: but they use two games not much unlike the chess. The one is the battle of numbers, wherein one number stealeth away another. The other is when vices fight with virtues, as it were in battle-array on a set field. In the which game is very properly showed both the strife and discord that the vices have among themselves, and again their unity and concord against virtues. And also what vices be repugnant to what virtues: with what power and strength they assail them openly: by what wiles and subtilty they assault them secretly: with what help and aid the virtues resist and overcome the puissance of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally, by what sleight or means the one getteth the victory. But here, lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things thereof may ensue. But this is nothing so; for that small time is not only enough, but also too much for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite, either for the necessity or the commodity of life. The which thing you also shall perceive, if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First, almost all women, which be the half of the whole number; or else, if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle. Besides this, how great and how idle a company is there of priests and religious men, as they call them; put thereto all rich men, specially all landed men, which commonly be called gentlemen and noblemen—take into this number also their servants: I mean all that flock of stout bragging rushbucklers. Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the colour of some disease or sickness. And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought, by whose labour all these things are wrought, that in men's affairs are now daily used and frequented.

Lucian, *Hermot.* 40. Plato, *Repub.* 416, 423; *Politic.* 289-290.

XVII.

THE other was a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever; and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health as well as brevity. For it is plain, that every word we speak is in some degree a diminution of our lungs by corrosion, and consequently contributes to the shortening of our lives. An expedient was therefore offered, that since words are only names for *things*, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them such *things* as were necessary to express the particular business they are to discourse on. And this invention would certainly have taken place, to the great ease as well as health of the subject, if the women, in conjunction with the illiterate, had not threatened to raise a rebellion, unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues, after the manner of their ancestors: such constant irreconcilable enemies to science are the common people! However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by *things*; which hath only this inconvenience attending it, that if a man's business be very great, and of various kinds, he must be obliged in proportion to carry a great bundle of *things* on his back, unless he can afford one or two strong servants to attend him. I have often beheld two of those sages almost sinking under the weight of their packs, like pedlars amongst us: who, when they met in the streets, would lay down their loads, open their sacks, and hold conversation for an hour together; then put up their implements, help each other to resume their burdens, and take their leave.

Plato, *Hipp. Minor*, 368 B. 369; *Protag.* 314.

XVIII.

'FOR my part,' says she, 'I never knew a play take that was written up to your rules, as you call them.' 'How, madam,' says he, 'is that your opinion? I am sure you have a better taste.' 'It is a pretty kind of magic,' says she; 'the poets have to transport an audience from place to place without the help of a coach and horses. I could travel round the world at such a rate. 'Tis such an entertainment as an enchantress finds when she fancies herself in a wood or on a mountain at a feast or a solemnity, though at the same time she has never stirred out of her cottage.' 'Your simile, madam,' says Sir Timothy, 'is by no means just.' 'Pray,' says she, 'let my similes pass without a criticism. I must confess,' continued she (for I found she was resolved to exasperate him), 'I laughed very heartily at the new comedy which you found so much fault with.' 'But, madam,' says he, 'you ought not to have laughed, and I defy any one to show me a single rule that you could laugh by.'

Plato, *Ion*, 532 C. Lucian, *ad dicentem Prometheus es*, 6.

XIX.

IT is a maxim among these lawyers that whatever has been done before may legally be done again: and therefore they take especial care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions: and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

In pleading they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause, but are loud, violent, and tedious, in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned, they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary has to my cow: but whether the said cow were red or black, her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, or the like: after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten or twenty years come to an issue.

Plato, *Theætet.* 175, **201.**

XX.

AS to boys I cannot speak upon experience: I had vanity enough while a school-boy; as soon as I could read currently, having gotten some books of chivalry, I determined upon making the conquest of the world; but being of a weakly constitution, and continually bumped about by other boys, I found this scheme impracticable, so at thirteen resolved to write a poem finer than Homer or Virgil. Before I went to the University, being taught that the solid sciences were more noble than poetry, I purposed, as soon as I should have made myself perfect master of logic, to elucidate all useful truths, and banish error from among mankind. What benefit these ambitious projects may have done me I know not: perhaps my present labours might be owing to some remains ot them, for I well remember that while the design of these dissertations lay in embryo in my head, they promised a much more shining appearance, than I find them make now I can review them upon paper.

Lucian, *Somnium.* Plato, *Phædo*, 96, *sqq.*

XXI.

AT last, some free and facetious spirits, wearied with eternal disputation, and the labour of patching and propping weak systems, began to complain of the subtilty of nature; of the infinite changes that bodies undergo in figure, colour, and magnitude; and of the difficulty of accounting for these appearances: making this a pretence for giving up all inquiries into the causes of things as vain and fruitless.

These wits had ample matter of mirth and ridicule in the systems of philosophers; and, finding it an easier task to pull down than to build or support, and that every sect furnished them with arms and auxiliaries to destroy another, they began to spread mightily, and went on with great success. Thus philosophy gave way to scepticism and irony, and those systems which had been the work of ages, and the admiration of the learned, became the jest of the vulgar: for even the vulgar readily took part in the triumph over a kind of learning which they had long suspected, because it produced nothing but wrangling and altercation. The wits, having now acquired great reputation, and being flushed with success, began to think their triumph incomplete, until every pretence to knowledge was overturned; and accordingly began their attacks upon arithmetic, geometry, and even upon the common notions of untaught Idomenians. 'So difficult it hath always been,' says our author, 'for great conquerors to know where to stop.'

Plato, *Repub.* 452, 495, *sqq.*

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

I.

CASSIOPE having boasted herself to be fairer than Hera, Poseidon sent a flood and a sea-monster to ravage the country belonging to her husband, Cepheus. The oracle of Ammon having been consulted, it was ascertained that nothing would stop the resentment of the gods except the exposure of the King's daughter, Andromeda, on a rock, to be devoured by the monster. At the moment that the dragon approached the maiden, Perseus appeared, and learning her peril, engaged the monster and slew him.

II.

THREE of these people were at the city when the late King was there. The monarch himself talked to them a good while, and they were made to see our fashions, our pomp, and the form of a fine city; after which somebody asked their opinion, and wanted to know of them what things they most admired of all they had seen. To which they made answer, three things, of which I am sorry I have forgot the third, but two I yet remember. They said, in the first place, they thought it very strange that so many tall men, wearing great beards, strong and well armed about the King's person (by whom it is like they meant his Swiss guards), should submit to obey a child, and did not rather choose out one among themselves to command; secondly, that they had taken notice of men amongst us who were fat and crammed with all manner of good things, whilst their halves were begging at the gates, lean and half starved with hunger and poverty.

III.

THEN he went down towards Iolcos, and as he walked he found that he had lost one of his sandals in the flood. And as he went through the streets, the people came out to look at him, so tall and fair was he; but some of the elders whispered together; and at last one of them stopped Jason, and called to him, 'Fair lad, who are you, and whence come you, and what is your errand in the town?' 'My name, good father, is Jason, and I come from Pelion, up yonder; and my errand is to Pelias, your King; tell me, then, where his palace is.' But the old man started, and grew pale, and said, 'Do you not know the oracle, my son, that you go so boldly through the town with but one sandal on!' 'I am a stranger here, and know of no oracle: but what of my one sandal? I lost the other in Anauros while I was struggling with the flood.' Then the old man looked back to his companions; and one sighed and another smiled; at last he said, 'I will tell you, lest you rush upon your ruin unawares. The oracle in Delphi has said that a man wearing one sandal should take the kingdom from Pelias, and keep it for himself. Therefore beware how you go up to his palace, for he is the fiercest and most cunning of all kings.'

IV.

THE lions once were lazy: and some of them whose teeth were not so white as they had been, but who roared as bravely as ever, said to the others, 'Why, brother lions, do we lead this wretched toilsome life—up early, to lair late; hunting alone over the sandy plains from morning till night, and earning but a scanty living or too much; now starved, now gorged; and at all times some of us starving, while others are gorging? Let us no more be unsociable, but let all the great beasts of the forest hunt together in packs; so shall our cares be divided equally, and our prey the same.' The other lions roared assent. The tigers also listened favourably to this counsel, and all the young ones much approved it; for though they loved blood, they were fond of play too.

V.

AS the bear is a heavy, clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, which is swift and light, so he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions; first, as to men, who are not his proper prey, he does not usually attempt them, except they first attack him, unless he be excessively hungry, which it is probable might now be the case, the ground being covered with snow; if you do not meddle with him, he will not meddle with you; but then you must take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road, for he is a very nice gentleman; he will not go a step out of his way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way and keep going on; for sometimes if you stop, and stand still, and look steadfastly at him, he takes it for an affront; but if you throw or toss anything at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of stick as big as your finger, he takes it for an affront, and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge, and will have satisfaction in point of honour—that is his first quality: the next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you, night or day, till he has had his revenge, but follow at a good round rate till he overtakes you.

VI.

AS he and the king were walking by a river in Thrace, they saw a frog, when the pike lay very sleepily and quiet by the shore side, leap upon his head, and the frog having expressed malice or anger by his swollen cheeks and staring eyes, did stretch out his legs and embraced the pike's head, and presently reached them to his eyes, tearing with them and his teeth those tender parts: the pike, moved with anguish, moves up and down the water, and rubs himself against weeds, and whatever he thought might quit him of his enemy; but all in vain, for the frog did continue to ride triumphantly, and to bite and torment the pike till his strength failed, and then the frog sunk with the pike to the bottom of the water; then presently the frog appeared again at the top, and croaked and seemed to rejoice like a conqueror, after which he presently retired to his secret hole. The king, who had beheld the battle, called his fishermen to fetch his nets, and by all means to get the pike, that they might declare what had happened; and the pike was drawn forth, with both his eyes eaten out; at which they began to wonder: the fishermen wished them to forbear, and assured them they were certain that pikes were often so served.

VII.

THEN he falls upon them, and beats them fearfully, in such sort, that they were not able to help themselves, or to turn them upon the floor. This done, he withdraws and leaves them, there to condole their misery, and to mourn under their distress: so all that day they spent the time in nothing but sighs and bitter lamentations. The next night, she talking with her husband about them further, and understanding that they were yet alive, did advise him to counsel them to make away themselves. So when morning was come, he goes to them in a surly manner as before, and perceiving them to be very sore with the stripes that he had given them the day before, he told them, that since they were never like to come out of that place, their only way would be forthwith to make an end of themselves, either with knife, halter, or poison; 'For why,' said he, 'should you choose life, seeing it is attended with so much bitterness?' But they desired him to let them go. With that he looked ugly upon them, and rushing to them had doubtless made an end of them himself, but that he fell into one of his fits (for he sometimes in sunshine weather fell into fits), and lost for a time the use of his hand; wherefore he withdrew, and left them as before, to consider what to do. Then did the prisoners consult between themselves whether it was best to take his counsel or no.

Andocides de Myster. i. 7-26.

VIII.

AND whan this paſſynge riche man is at Table, 50 fair Damyſeles bryngen him hys Mete at every tyme, 5 and 5 to gedre. And in bryngynge hire Servyſe, thei syngen a Song. And aftre that, thei kutten his Mete, and putten it in his Mouthe: for he touchethe no thing ne handlethe nought, but holdethe evere more his Hondes before him, upon the Table. For he hathe ſo longe Nayles, that he may take no thing, ne handle no thing. For the Nobleſſe of that Contree is to have longe Nayles, and to make hem growen alle weys to ben as longe as men may. And there ben manye in that Contree, that han hire Nayles ſo longe, that thei envyronne alle the Hond: and that is a gret Nobleſſe. And the Nobleſſe of the Women, is for to haven ſmale Feet and litille: and therfore anon as thei ben born, they leet bynde hire Feet ſo ſtreyte, that thei may not growen half as nature wolde : And alle weys theiſe Damyſeles, that I ſpak of beforn, ſyngen alle the tyme that this riche man etethe : and whan he etethe no more of his firſte Cours, thanne other 5 and 5 of faire Damyſeles bryngen him his ſeconde Cours, alle weys ſyngynge, as thei dide beforn. And ſo thei don contynuelly every day, to the ende of his Mete. And in this manere he ledethe his Lif. And ſo dide thei before him, that weren his Aunceſtres : and ſo ſchulle thei that comen aftre him, with outen doynge of ony Dedes of Armes : but lyven evere more thus in eſe, as a Swyn, that is fedde in Sty, for to ben made fatte.

IX.

BUT about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that which whereto neither of the generals had ever earnest desire. A horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the Roman soldiers followed into the river, wading after him up to the knees. The King's men lay on the further bank; whence a couple of Thracians ran into the water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel, and one of the Thracians was slain. His countrymen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellow's death, and followed those that had slain him over the river. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the generals placed his men in order of battle, accordingly as the manner of his country, and the arms wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there, whereof each part might take what advantage it could.

Xenophon, *Anab.* i. iv. 17; v. iv. 2; ii. ii.

X.

A PRIVATE citizen, after the fray was over, when the death of Hermocrates was deeply felt, even by many of his political adversaries, called out to Diocles, in allusion to his having appeared in arms in the market-place, 'Ah, Diocles, thou art making void thine own laws!' 'Nay, rather,' was his reply, 'I will ratify them thus;' and he instantly stabbed himself to the heart. Such a spirit, so sincere, and so self-devoted, might well have been the founder of freedom for his country, and saved her, had his life been prolonged, from the selfish ambition of Dionysius.

XI.

LIKE his ancestor, Philip was haunted by a strange curiosity to pry into the secrets of that grave to which he was hastening. In the cemetery which he had formed beneath the pavement of the church, reposed three generations of Castilian princes. Into these dark vaults the unhappy monarch descended by torchlight, and penetrated to that superb and gloomy chamber where, round the great black crucifix, were ranged the coffins of the kings and queens of Spain. There he commanded his attendants to open the massy chests of bronze in which the relics of his predecessors decayed. He looked on the ghastly spectacle with little emotion, till the coffin of his first wife was unclosed, and she appeared before him—such was the skill of the embalmer—in all her well-remembered beauty. He cast one glance on those beloved features, unseen for eighteen years, those features over which corruption seemed to have no power, and rushed from the vault, exclaiming, 'She is with God, and I shall soon be with her.' The awful sight completed the ruin of his body and mind.

XII.

THE bridge of boats is so narrow that two carriages cannot pass abreast; and as there is a good deal of competition between vehicles on the opposite sides as to which shall get on the roadway first, the rush down the bank to the bridge is violent enough. The muddy yellow stream flows with violence under the boats, and keeps the cables well stretched. It bears on its creaming surface all sorts of nastiness; but the Hindoos have it that nothing can pollute the holy waters of Gunga. By the margin, close to the bridge, there is a man washing clothes, and, within two or three yards of him, there is lying the bloated corpse of a native woman, on which are seated crows and a vulture. Higher up the stream, in cleaner water, elephants are enjoying their morning bath. They roll away, like so many porpoises, right under the flood, and leave the drivers shouting, and groping below for them with their feet.

XIII.

AS we advance, the valley becomes deeper and deeper. The shade of the precipices on both sides falls blacker and blacker. The clouds gather overhead. Doleful voices, the clanking of chains, and the rushing of many feet to and fro, are heard through the darkness. The way, hardly discernible in gloom, runs close by the mouth of the burning pit, which sends forth its flames, its noisome smoke, and its hideous shapes, to terrify the adventurer. Thence he goes on amidst the snares and pitfalls, with the mangled bodies of those who have perished lying in the ditch by his side. At the end of the long dark valley, he passes the dens in which the old giants dwelt, amidst the bones of those whom they had slain. Then the road passes straight on through a waste moor, till at length the towers of a distant city appear before the traveller, and soon he is in the midst of the innumerable multitudes of Vanity Fair.

Lucian, *Necyomant*, 14. *Veræ Historiæ* ii. 29.

XIV.

WHEN Livia was first married to Augustus, an eagle let fall into her arms a white hen, holding a laurel-branch in her mouth. Livia caused this hen to be carefully nourished, and the laurel-branch to be planted: of the hen came a fair increase of white poultry, and from the little branch there sprang up in time a grove of laurel; so that afterwards, in all triumphs, the conquerors did use to carry in their hands a branch of bays taken out of this grove; and, after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshow the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of Nero all the broods of the white hens died, and the whole grove of bays withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the Cæsars' statues, and the sceptre placed in Augustus' hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the Jews did not think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard, it appears by their calling upon God and praying that these tokens might turn to good.

XV.

THEN I demanded of him of the manner of the hole that is in Ireland, called St. Patrick's Purgatory, and if it were true that is said of it or not? Then he said that of a surety such a hole there was, and that he himself and another knight of England had been there, and said how they entered into the hole and were closed in at the sun going down, and abode there all night, and the next morning issued out again at the sun-rising. Then I demanded if he had any such strange sights or visions as were spoken of. Then he said how that when he and his fellow were entered and past the gate that was called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and that they were descended and gone down three or four paces, descending down as into a cellar, a certain hot vapour rose against them and strake so into their heads that they were fain to sit down on the stairs, which are of stone: and after they had sat there a season they had great desire to sleep, and so fell asleep, and slept there all night. Then I demanded that if in their sleep they knew where they were, or what visions they had? He answered me, that in sleeping they entered into great imaginations and in marvellous dreams, otherwise than they were wont to have in their chambers: and in the morning they issued out, and within a short season clean forgot their dreams and visions, wherefore he said he thought all that matter was but a fantasy.

Plato, *Repub.* 614, 615.

XVI.

ACCORDINGLY, being filled with these aspiring thoughts, and eager to learn if possible the whole secret of the lamp, he repaired with it to the abode of a magician, who was famous for all kinds of recondite knowledge. The old man, when he beheld the lamp, perceived at a glance its surprising virtues, and his eyes sparkled at the sight. But when again he turned to the young man, his looks became suddenly overcast, and he thus cautioned him in the words of long-experienced wisdom. 'Be contented with thy lot, my son,' said he, 'and with the good thou now enjoyest. The ordinary favours of the lamp enable thee to live in comfort and to discharge correctly all the duties of thy station. What more wouldst thou have? Take it therefore home with thee again, and employ it as heretofore. But seek not to call forth or pry into its more extraordinary properties, lest some evil befall thee, and the attempt be for ever fatal to thy peace.'

XVII.

DURING the celebration of the mysteries, two young men of Acarnania, who were not initiated, unapprised of its being an offence against religion, entered the temple of Ceres along with the rest of the crowd: their discourse readily betrayed them by their asking some absurd questions: whereupon being carried before the presidents of the temple, although it was evident that they went in through mistake, yet they were put to death as if for a heinous crime. The Acarnanian nation made complaint to Philip of this barbarous and hostile act, and prevailed on him to grant them some aid, and to allow them to make war on the Athenians. So after ravaging the lands of Attica with fire and sword, they went back to Acarnania with booty of all kinds.

XVIII.

BUT straightwayes we saw divers of the People, with Bastons in their hands (as it were), forbidding us to land; yet without any cries or fierceness, but onely as warning us off by Signes that they made. Whereupon, being not a little discomforted, wee were advising with ourselves, what we should do. During which time there made forth to us a small Boat, with about eight Persons in it, whereof One of them had in his Hand a Tipstaffe of a yellow Cane, tipped at both ends with Blew, who came aboord our Shipp, without any shew of Distrust at all. And when he saw one of our

Number present himselfe somewhat afore the rest, hee drew forth a little Scroule of Parchment (somewhat yellower than our Parchment, and shining like the Leaves of Writing Tables, but otherwise soft and flexible), and delivered it to our foremost Man. In which Scroule were written these words: *Land yee* not none of you: And provide to be gone, from this Coast, within sixteene Dayes, except you have further time given you. Meanewhile, if you want fresh Water, or Victuall, or help for your Sick, or that your Shipp needeth repaire, write downe your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to Mercie.

Lucian, *Veræ Histor.* i. 33; ii. 6.

XIX.

SO they limped ashore all stiff and weary, with long ragged beards and sunburnt cheeks, and garments torn and weather-stained, and weapons rusted with the spray, while the sailors laughed at them (for they were rough-tongued, though their hearts were frank and kind). And one said, 'These fellows are but raw sailors; they look as if they had been sea-sick all the day.' And another, 'Their legs have grown crooked with much rowing, till they waddle in their walk like ducks.' At that Idas the rash would have struck them; but Jason held him back, till one of the merchant kings spoke to them—a tall and stately man. 'Do not be angry, strangers: the sailor boys must have their jest. But we will treat you justly and kindly, for strangers and poor men come from God: and you seem no common sailors by your strength and height and weapons. Come with me to the palace of Alcinous, and he will feast you well, and after that you shall tell us your name.'

XX.

AND at the dawn of day he looked toward the cliffs; and at the water's edge, under a black rock, he saw a white image stand. 'This,' thought he, 'must surely be the statue of some sea god. I will go near and see what kind of Gods these barbarians worship.'

So he came near, but when he came it was no statue, but a maiden of flesh and blood, for he could see her tresses streaming in the breeze: and as he came closer still, he could see how she shrank and shivered when the waves sprinkled her with cold salt spray. Her arms were spread above her head, and fastened to the rock with chains of brass, and her head drooped on her bosom, either with sleep or weariness or grief. But now and then she looked up and wailed, and called her mother, yet she did not see Perseus, for the cap of darkness was on his head.

XXI.

THE laws, in creating property, have created wealth; but, with respect to poverty, it is not the work of the laws,—it is the primitive condition of the human race. The man who lives only from day to day is precisely the man in a state of nature. The savage, the poor in society, I acknowledge, obtain nothing but by painful labour; but in a state of nature what could he obtain but at the price of his toil. Has not hunting its fatigues, fishing its dangers, war its uncertainties? And if man appear to love this adventurous life—if he have an instinct greedy of these kinds of peril—if the savage rejoice in the delights of an idleness so dearly purchased—ought it to be concluded that he is more happy than our day-labourers? No, the labour of these is more uniform, but the reward is more certain: the lot of the woman is more gentle, infancy and old age have more resources; the species multiplies in a proportion a thousand times greater, and this alone would suffice to show on which side is the superiority of happiness. Hence the laws, in creating property, have been benefactors to those who remain in their original poverty.

XXII.

BOTH men and horses were of a small size and thin make, the riders unaccoutred and unarmed, except that they carried javelins in their hands; and the horses without bridles, and awkward in their gait, running with their necks stiff, and their heads stretched out. The contempt conceived from their appearance, they took pains to increase; sometimes falling from their horses, and making themselves objects of derision and ridicule. The consequence was that the enemy, who at first had been vigilant and ready at their posts in case of attack, now, for the most part, laid aside their arms, and sitting down, amused themselves with looking at them. The Bedouins often rode up, then galloped back, but still contrived to get nearer to the pass, as if they were unable to manage their horses, and were carried away against their will. At last, setting spurs to them, they broke out through the midst of the enemy's posts, and getting into the open country, set fire to all the houses near the road.

XXIII.

BEAUTY has been the delight and torment of the world ever since it began. The philosophers have felt its influence so sensibly that almost every one of them has left us some saying or other which intimated that he knew too well the power of it. One has told us that a graceful person is a more powerful recommendation than the best letter that can be writ in your favour. Another desires the possessor of it to consider it as a mere gift of nature, and not any perfection of his own. A third calls it a 'short-lived tyranny;' a fourth, 'a silent fraud,' because it imposes upon us, without the help of language; but I think Carneades spoke as much like a philosopher as any of them, though more like a lover, when he calls it 'royalty without force.'

Isocrates, *Helen.* 61 [x. 216].

XXIV.

NO man is so obstinate an admirer of the old times as to deny that medicine, surgery, botany, chemistry, engineering, navigation, are better understood now than in any former age. We conceive that it is the same with political science. Like those physical sciences which we have mentioned, it has always been working itself clearer and clearer, and depositing impurity after impurity. As time advances, facts accumulate, doubts arise. Faint glimpses of truth begin to appear, and shine more and more unto the perfect day. The highest intellects, like the tops of mountains, are the first to catch and to reflect the dawn. They are bright, while the level below is still in darkness. But soon the light, which at first illuminated only the loftiest eminences, descends on the plain, and penetrates to the deepest valley. First come hints, then fragments of systems, then defective systems, then complete and harmonious systems. The sound opinion, held for a time by one bold speculator, becomes the opinion of a small minority, of a strong minority, of a majority of mankind. Thus the great progress goes on till schoolboys laugh at the jargon which imposed on Bacon.

XXV.

ON the greatest and most useful of all human inventions, that of alphabetical writing, this philosopher did not look with much complacency. He seems to have thought that the use of letters had operated on the human mind as the use of the go-cart in learning to walk, or of corks in learning to swim, is said to operate on the human body. It was a support which, in his opinion, soon became indispensable to those who used it, which made vigorous exertion first unnecessary, and then impossible. The powers of the intellect would, he conceived, have been more fully developed without this delusive aid. Men would have been compelled to exercise the understanding and the memory, and by deep and assiduous meditation, to make truth thoroughly their own. Now, on the contrary, much knowledge is traced on paper, but little is engraved on the soul. A man is certain that he can find information at a moment's notice when he wants it. He therefore suffers it to fade from his mind. Such a man cannot, in strictness, be said to know anything. He has the show without the reality of wisdom.

Plato, *Phædrus*, 274 E. *sqq.*

XXVI.

'YOU, my friends, seem as if you would willingly hear the proof a little further explained. You appear to be frightened, as children are, that when the soul passes out of the body, the wind may blow it away, especially if there be a strong breeze stirring when the man dies.' At this they laughed, and said,—'Well, suppose that we are frightened; and do you encourage and comfort us. Or rather, suppose, not that we are frightened, but that there is a child within us who is so. Let us try to persuade him not to fear death, as a kind of bugbear.' 'Yes,' said Socrates; 'and to do this, we must use some charm, that we can sing over him day by day, till the incantation has quite dispelled his fears.' 'But alas! Socrates, where shall we find any one else who is master of such a spell; since you, the most likely to impart it to us, are on the point of leaving us?' 'Greece, my friends, is a wide place; and there are in it many good men. Many too are the races of barbarians, all of whom are to be explored in search of some one who can perform such a charm as we have need of: and we must spare no pains nor expense in the search, for on what better object could we expend money or labour? And you must search too among yourselves for this gift: for perhaps you will not easily find any one who has this power more than you have.'

XXVII.

TO Plato the science of medicine appeared to be of very disputable advantage. He did not indeed object to quick cures for acute disorders, or for injuries produced by accidents. But the art which resists the slow sap of a chronic disease, which repairs frames enervated by lust, swollen by gluttony, or inflamed by wine, which encourages sensuality by mitigating the natural punishment of the sensualist, and prolongs existence when the intellect has ceased to retain its entire energy, had no share of his esteem. A life protracted by medical skill, he pronounced to be a long death. The exercise of the art of medicine, ought, he said, to be tolerated so far as that art may serve to cure the occasional distempers of men whose constitutions are good. As to those who have bad constitutions, let them die. The sooner the better. Such men are unfit for war, for magistracy, for the management of their domestic affairs, for severe study and speculation. If they engage in any vigorous mental exercise, they are troubled with giddiness and fulness of the head, all which they lay to the account of philosophy. The best thing that can happen to such wretches is to have done with life at once.

XXVIII.

SUPPOSE that Justinian, when he closed the schools of Athens, had called on the few last sages who still haunted the Portico, and lingered round the ancient plane-trees, to show their title to public veneration: suppose that he had said,—A thousand years have elapsed since, in this famous city, Socrates posed Protagoras and Hippias: during those thousand years a large proportion of the ablest men of every generation has been employed in constant efforts to bring to perfection the philosophy which you teach: that philosophy has been munificently patronised by the powerful: its professors have been held in the highest esteem by the public; it has drawn to itself almost all the sap and vigour of the human intellect: and what has it effected? What profitable truth has it taught us which we should not equally have known without it? What has it enabled us to do which we should not have been equally able to do without it? Such questions, we suspect, would have puzzled Simplicius and Isidore.

XXIX.

LAW alone could accustom men to submit to the yoke of foresight, at first painful to be borne, but afterwards agreeable and mild: it alone could encourage them in labour, superfluous at present, and which they are not to enjoy till the future. Economy has as many enemies as there are spendthrifts, or men who would enjoy without taking the trouble to produce. Hence society lives in the midst of snares. It requires in the legislator vigilance continually sustained to defend it against its constantly reviving adversaries. The law does not say to a man, 'Work, and I will reward you,' but it says to him, 'Work, and by stopping the hand that would take them from you, I will ensure to you the fruits of your labour.' If industry creates, it is the law which preserves. If at the first moment we owe everything to labour, at the second and every succeeding moment we owe everything to the law.

XXX.

THE plains of this country are irrigated by few streams, which are rather to be called torrents than rivers; and on none of them can it depend for a perennial supply of water. There is no lake within its limits. Such being the nature of the soil, it followed that the olive was the most common as well as the most valuable production of Attica. Such then were some of the physical defects of this land. But these disadvantages were compensated by the beneficial effects they produced. For the sterility of Attica drove its inhabitants from their own country. It carried them abroad. It filled them with a spirit of activity, which loved to face danger and to grapple with difficulty; it told them that if they would maintain themselves in the dignity which became them, they must regard the resources of their own land as nothing, and those of other countries as their own.

Plato, *Critias*, 110 D. *sqq.*

XXXI.

IT arose from the barrenness of her soil, that Attica had always been exempt from the revolutions which, in early times agitated the other countries of Greece: which poured over their frontiers the changeful floods of migratory popula-tions and disturbed the foundations of their national history, and confounded the civil institutions of the former occupants of the soil. But Attica, secure in her sterility, boasted that her land had never been inundated by those tides of immigration. She had experienced no such change : she had enjoyed a perpetual calm. The race of her inhabitants had been ever the same : nor could she tell whence they had sprung : no foreign land had sent them. She traced the stream of her population in a backward course through many generations, till at last it hid itself, like one of her own brooks, in the recesses of her own soil.

Plato, *Critias*, 109, B. *sqq.* Isocrates, *Paneg.* [iv. 45, C.]; *de Pace* [viii. 169, B.]; *Panathen.* [xii. 258].

XXXII.

FROM the mouths of the Adige to those of the Piave, there stretches, at a variable distance of from three to five miles from the actual shore, a bank of sand, divided into long islands by narrow channels of sea. The space between this bank and the true shore consists of the sedimentary deposits from these and other rivers, a great plain of calcareous mud, covered, in the neighbourhood of Venice, by the sea at high water, to the depth, in most places, of a foot or a foot and a half, and nearly everywhere exposed at low tide, but divided by an intricate network of narrow and winding channels, from which the sea never retires. In some places, according to the run of the currents, the land has risen into marshy islets, consolidated, some by art and some by time, into ground firm enough to be built upon, or fruitful enough to be cultivated ; in others, on the contrary, it has not reached the sea level ; so that, at the average low water, shallow lakelets glitter among its irregularly exposed fields of seaweed. In the midst of the largest of these, increased in importance by the confluence of several large river channels, towards one of the openings in the sea bank, the city of Venice itself is built, on a crowded cluster of islands. The various plots of higher ground which appear to the north and south of this central cluster have at different periods also been thickly inhabited, and now bear, according to their size, the remains of cities, villages, or isolated convents and churches, scattered among spaces of open ground, partly waste and encumbered by ruins, partly under cultivation for the supply of the metropolis.

Plato, *Critias*, 110 D. *sqq.*, 111, 112, 115 C. *sqq.*

XXXIII.

THE average rise and fall of the tide is about three feet (varying considerably with the seasons); but this fall on so flat a shore is enough to cause continual movement in the waters and in the main channels to produce a reflux, which frequently runs like a mill-stream. At high water, no land is visible for many miles to the north or south of Venice, except in the form of small islands crowned with towers or gleaming with villages. There is a channel some three miles wide between the city and the mainland, and some mile and a half wide between it and the sandy breakwater called the Lido, which divides the lagoon from the Adriatic, but which is so low as hardly to disturb the impression of the city's having been built in the midst of the ocean, although the secret of its true position is partly, yet not painfully betrayed, by the cluster of piles set to mark the deep water channels, which undulate far away in spotty chains like the studded backs of huge sea-snakes, and by the quick glittering of the crisped and crowded waves that flicker and dance before the strong winds upon the unlifted level of the shallow sea. But the scene is widely different at low tide. A fall of eighteen or twenty inches is enough to show ground over the greater part of the lagoon;

and at the complete ebb, the city is seen standing in the midst of a dark plain of sea-weed, of gloomy green, except only where the larger branches of the Brenta and its associated streams converge towards the port of the Lido.

Plato, *Critias*, 115 C. *sqq.; Timæus*, 23.

XXXIV.

THROUGH this salt and sombre plain, the gondola and the fishing-boat advance by tortuous channels, seldom more than four or five feet deep, and often so choked with slime that the heavier keels furrow the bottom, till their crossing tracks are seen through the clear sea-water like the ruts upon a wintry road, and the oar leaves blue gashes upon the ground at every stroke, or is entangled among the thick weed that fringes the banks with the weight of its sullen waves, leaning to and fro upon the uncertain sway of the exhausted tide. The scene is often profoundly impressive, even at this day, when every plot of higher ground bears some fragment of fair building; but in order to know what it once was, let the traveller follow in his boat at evening the windings of some unfrequented channel far into the midst of the melancholy plain; let him remove, in his imagination, the brightness of the great city that still extends itself in the distance, and the walls and towers from the islands that are near, and so wait until the bright investiture and sweet warmth of the sunset are withdrawn from the waters, and the black desert of their shore lies in its nakedness beneath the night, pathless, comfortless, infirm, lost in dark languor and fearful silence, except where the salt runlets plash into the tideless pools, or the sea-birds flit from their margins with a questioning cry; and he will be enabled to enter in some sort into the horror of heart with which this solitude was anciently chosen by man for his habitation.

Plato, *Critias*, 111, 112, 117, 118.

XXXV.

ASK a follower of Bacon what the new philosophy has effected for mankind, and his answer is ready :—'It has lengthened life ; it has mitigated pain ; it has extinguished diseases ; it has increased the fertility of the soil ; it has given new securities to the mariner ; it has furnished new arms to the warrior ; it has spanned great rivers and estuaries with bridges of form unknown to our fathers ; it has guided the thunderbolt innocuously from heaven to earth ; it has lighted up the night with the splendour of the day ; it has extended the range of human vision ; it has multiplied the power of the human muscles ; it has accelerated motion ; it has annihilated distance ; it has facilitated intercourse, correspondence, all friendly offices, all despatch of business ; it has enabled man to descend to the depths of the sea, to soar into the air, to penetrate securely into the noxious recesses of the earth, to traverse the land in cars which whirl along without horses, and the ocean in ships which run ten knots an hour against the wind. These are but a part of its fruits, and of its first-fruits. For it is a philosophy which never rests, which has never attained its limit, which is never perfect. Its law is progress. A point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-day, and will be its starting-post to-morrow.

Xenophon, *Memor.* iv. vii. 2, *sqq.* ; i. i. 11-14.

XXXVI.

NOR did Bacon ever meddle with those enigmas which have puzzled hundreds of generations, and will puzzle hundreds more. He said nothing about the grounds of moral obligation, or the freedom of the human will. He had no inclination to employ himself in labours resembling those of the damned in the Grecian Tartarus, to spin for ever on the same wheel round the same pivot, to gape for ever after the same deluding clusters, to pour water for ever into the same bottomless buckets, to pace for ever to and fro on the same wearisome path after the same recoiling stone. He exhorted his disciples to prosecute researches of a very different description, to consider moral science as a practical science, of which the object was to cure the diseases and perturbations of the mind, and which could be improved only by a method analogous to that which has improved medicine and surgery. Moral philosophers ought, he said, to set themselves vigorously to work for the purpose of discovering what are the actual effects produced on the human character by particular modes of education, by the indulgence of particular habits, by the study of particular books, by society, by emulation, by imitation. Then we might hope to find out what mode of training was most likely to preserve and restore moral health.

Xenophon, *Memor.* iv. vii. 2; i. i. 11-14. Plato, *Gorgias*, 493.

XXXVII.

THAT principle to which policy owes its stability, life its happiness, faith its acceptance, and creation its continuance, is obedience. Nor is it the least among the sources of more serious satisfaction which I have found in the pursuit of a subject that at first appeared to bear but slightly on the grave interests of mankind, that the condition of material perfection which it leads me in conclusion to consider, furnishes a strange proof how false is the conception, how frantic the pursuit of that treacherous phantom which men call Liberty; most treacherous indeed of all phantoms: for the feeblest ray of reason might surely show us, that not only its attainment, but its being was impossible. There is no such thing in the Universe. There can never be. The stars have it not: the earth has it not: the sea has it not: and we men have the mockery and semblance of it only for our heaviest punishment.

The enthusiast would indeed say that by Liberty he meant the Law of Liberty. Then why use the single and misunderstood word? If by liberty you mean chastisement of the passions, discipline of the intellect, subjection of the will; if you mean the fear of inflicting, the shame of committing, a wrong; if you mean respect for all who are in authority, and consideration for all who are in dependence, veneration for the good, mercy to the evil, sympathy with the weak; if you mean watchfulness over all thoughts, temperance in all pleasures, and perseverance in all toils, why do you name this by the same word by which the luxurious mean license, and the reckless mean change; by which the rogue means rapine, and the fool equality; by which the proud mean anarchy, and the malignant mean violence? Call it by any name rather than this, but its best and truest is obedience.

Plato, *Gorgias*, 491, D. *sqq.*

XXXVIII.

YOU hear every day great numbers of foolish people speaking about liberty as if it were such an honourable thing: so far from being that, it is on the whole and in the broadest sense dishonourable, and an attribute of the lower creatures. No human being, however great and powerful, was ever so free as a fish. There is always something that he must, or must not do, while the fish may do whatever he likes. You will find, on fairly thinking of it, that it is his restraint which is honourable to man, not his liberty; and what is more, it is restraint which is honourable even in the lower animals. A butterfly is much more free than a bee: but you honour the bee more, just because it is subject to certain laws which fit it for orderly function in bee society. And throughout the world, of the two abstract things liberty and restraint, restraint is always the more honourable. It is true, indeed, that in these and all other matters you never can reason finally from the abstraction, for both liberty and restraint are good when they are nobly chosen, and both are bad when they are basely chosen: but of the two, I repeat, it is restraint which characterizes the higher creature, and betters the lower creature: and from the ministering of the archangel, to the labour of the insect; from the poising of the planets, to the gravitation of a grain of dust, the power and glory of all creatures and all matter consist in their obedience, not in their freedom. The sun has no liberty, a dead leaf has much. The dust of which you are formed has no liberty. Its liberty will come—with its corruption.

Plato, *Gorgias*, 504, c. *sqq.*

XXXIX.

PERICLES spoke to men whom the tribute of vanquished cities supplied with food and clothing, with the luxury of the bath, and the amusements of the theatre, on whom the greatness of their country conferred rank, and before whom the members of less prosperous communities trembled. To be butchered on the smoking ruins of their city, to be dragged in chains to a slave market, to see one child torn from them to dig in the quarries of Sicily, and another to grace the harems of Persepolis,—these were the frequent and probable consequences of national calamities in those times. Hence among the Greeks patriotism became a governing principle, or rather an ungovernable passion. Their legislators and their philosophers took it for granted that in providing for the strength and greatness of the state, they sufficiently provided for the happiness of the people.

XL.

AN Athenian citizen, it is true, might possess very few volumes, and the largest library to which he had access might be much less valuable than that of a scholar in the present day. But the Athenian might pass every morning in conversation with Socrates, and might hear Pericles speak four or five times every month. He saw the plays of Sophocles and Aristophanes; he walked amidst the friezes of Phidias and the paintings of Zeuxis: he knew by heart the choruses of Æschylus: he heard the rhapsodist at the corner of the street reciting the shield of Achilles, or the death of Argus: he was a legislator, conversant with high questions of alliance, revenue, and war: he was a soldier, trained under a liberal and generous discipline: he was a judge, compelled every day to weigh the effect of opposite arguments. These things were in themselves an education, eminently fitted, not indeed to form exact or profound thinkers, but to give quickness to the perceptions, delicacy to the taste, fluency to the expression, and politeness to the manners.

Isocrates, *ad Nicoclem.* Orat. ii. p. 15, *b.; de Permut.* xv. 310, *b.*

XLI.

IT not unfrequently happens that a tinker or coalheaver hears a sermon, or falls in with a tract which alarms him about the state of his soul. If he be a man of excitable nerves and strong imagination, he thinks himself given over to the Evil Power. His sleep is broken by dreams of the great judgment-seat, the open books, and the unquenchable fire. If, in order to escape from these vexing thoughts, he flies to amusement or to licentious indulgence, the delusive relief only makes his misery darker and more hopeless. At length a turn takes place. He is reconciled to his offended Maker. To borrow the fine imagery of one who had himself been thus tried, he emerges from the Valley of the Shadow of Death, from the dark land of gins and snares, of quagmires and precipices, of evil spirits and ravenous beasts. The sunshine is on his path. He ascends the Delectable Mountains, and catches from their summit a distant view of the shining city, which is the end of his pilgramage. Then arises in his mind a natural and surely not a censurable desire, to impart to others the thoughts of which his own heart is full, to warn the careless, to comfort those who are troubled in spirit. The impulse which urges him to devote his whole life to the teaching of religion is a strong passion in the guise of a duty. He exhorts his neighbours : and, if he be a man of strong parts, he often does so with great effect.

Plato, *Repub.* 330, D. ; *Apolog. Soc.* 28, E.

XLII.

AS respects natural religion, it is not easy to see that a philosopher of the present day is more favourably situated than Thales or Simonides. He has before him just the same evidences of design in the structure of the universe which the early Greeks had. We say just the same; for the discoveries of modern astronomers and anatomists have really added nothing to the force of that argument which a reflecting mind finds in every beast, bird, insect, fish, leaf, flower, and shell. As to the other great question—the question what becomes of man after death, we do not see that a highly educated European, left to his unassisted reason, is more likely to be in the right than a Blackfoot Indian. Not a single one of the many sciences in which we surpass the Blackfoot Indians throws the smallest light on the state of the soul after the animal life is extinct.

XLIII.

THE evening was now far past, and they rose to return home. As they walked along the bank of the Nile, delighted with the beams of the moon quivering on the water, they saw at a small distance an old man, whom the prince had often heard in the assembly of the sages. 'Yonder,' said he, 'is one whose years have calmed his passions, but not clouded his reason : let us close the disquisitions of the night by inquiring what are his sentiments of his own state, that we may know whether youth alone is to struggle with vexation, and whether any better hope remains for the latter part of life.'

Here the sage approached, and saluted them. They invited him to join their walk, and prattled awhile, as acquaintances that had unexpectedly met one another. The old man was cheerful and talkative, and the way seemed short in his company. He was pleased to find himself not disregarded, accompanied them to their house, and at the prince's request entered with them. They placed him in the seat of honour, and set wine and conserves before him.

'Sir,' said the princess, 'an evening walk must give to a man of learning like you pleasures which ignorance and youth can hardly conceive. You know the qualities and the causes of all that you behold, the laws by which the river flows, the period in which the planets perform their revolutions. Everything must supply you with contemplation, and renew the consciousness of your own dignity.

XLIV.

THEN follows a touching description of the misery of a man of letters who had entered the service of one of these magnates. 'Unhappy that I am,' cries the victim of his own childish ambition, 'would nothing content me but that I must leave mine old pursuits and mine old companions, and the life which was without care, and the sleep which had no limit save mine own pleasure, and the walks which I was free to take where I listed, and fling myself into the lowest pit of a dungeon like this? And, O God! for what? Was there no way by which I might have enjoyed in freedom comforts even greater than those which I now earn by servitude? Like a lion which has been made so tame that men may lead him about by a thread, I am dragged up and down, with broken and humbled spirit, at the heels of those to whom, in mine own domain, I should have been an object of awe and wonder. And worst of all, I feel that here I gain no credit, that here I give no pleasure. The talents and accomplishments which charmed a far different circle, are here out of place. I am rude in the arts of palaces, and can ill bear comparison with those whose calling from their youth up has been to flatter and to sue. Have I then two lives, that, after I have wasted one in the service of others, there may yet remain to me a second which I may live unto myself?'

Lucian, *de mercede conductis*, 23.

XLV.

MISINFORMATION is another source of evil: both parties equally treat the commissioners with deceit. The only people who can throw light upon the subject will not. It is difficult not to be won by the first speaker, if he carries the air of mildness and is master of his tale; or not to be biassed in favour of infirmity or infancy. Those who cannot assist themselves we are much inclined to assist. Nothing dissolves like tears. Though they arise from weakness, they are powerful advocates, which instantly disarm, particularly those which the afflicted wish to hide. They come from the heart and will reach it, if the judge has a heart to reach. Distress and pity are inseparable. Perhaps there never was a judge, from seventeen to seventy, who could look with indifference upon beauty in distress; if he could, he was unfit to be a judge. He should be a stranger to decision who is a stranger to compassion. All these matters influence the man, and warp his judgment.

XLVI.

THIS revolution, say they, was the act of the majority of the people; and if the majority of any other people, the people of England for instance, wish to make the same change, they have the same right. Just the same, undoubtedly. That is none at all. Neither the few nor the many have a right to act merely by their will in any matter connected with duty, trust, engagement, or obligation. The constitution of a country being once settled upon some compact, tacit or expressed, there is no power existing of force to alter it without the breach of the covenant or the consent of all parties. Such is the nature of a contract. And the votes of the majority of the people, whatever their infamous flatterers may teach in order to corrupt their minds, cannot alter the moral any more than they can alter the physical essence of things. The people are not to be taught to think lightly of their engagements to their governors: else they teach governors to think lightly of their engagements towards them. In that kind of game in the end the people are sure to be losers. To flatter them into a contempt of faith, truth, and justice is to ruin them; for in these virtues consists their whole safety. To flatter any man or any part of mankind by asserting that in engagements he or they are free whilst any other human crea ture is bound, is ultimately to rest the rule of morality in the pleasure of those who ought to be rigidly submitted to it: to subject the sovereign reason of the world to the caprices of weak and giddy men.

XLVII.

WE said that the history of England is the history of progress; and, when we take a comprehensive view of it, it is so. But when examined in small separate portions, it may with more propriety be called a history of actions and re-actions. We have often thought that the motion of the public mind in our country resembles that of the sea when the tide is rising. Each successive wave rushes forward, breaks, and rolls back; but the great flood is steadily coming in. A person who looked on the waters only for a moment might fancy that they were retiring. A person who looked on them only for five minutes might fancy that they were rushing capriciously to and fro. But when he keeps his eye on them for a quarter of an hour, and sees one sea-mark disappear after another, it is impossible for him to doubt of the general direction in which the ocean is moved. Just such has been the course of events in England. In the history of the national mind, which is, in truth, the history of the nation, we must carefully distinguish between that recoil which regularly follows every advance and a general ebb.

XLVIII.

BUT the very considerations which lead us to look forward with sanguine hope to the future, prevent us from looking back with contempt to the past. We do not flatter ourselves with the notion that we have attained perfection, and that no more truth remains to be found. We believe that we are wiser than our ancestors. We believe, also, that our posterity will be wiser than we. It would be gross injustice in our grandchildren to talk of us with contempt, merely because they may have surpassed us. As we would have our descendants judge us, so ought we to judge our fathers. In order to form a correct estimate of their merits, we ought to place ourselves in their situation, to put out of our minds, for a time, all that knowledge which they, however eager in the pursuit of truth, could not have, and which we, however negligent we may have been, could not help having. It was not merely difficult, but absolutely impossible, for the best and greatest of men, two hundred years ago, to be what a very common-place person in our days may easily be, and indeed must necessarily be. But it is too much that the benefactors of mankind, after having been reviled by the dunces of their own generation for going too far, should be reviled by the dunces of the next generation for not going far enough.

Isocrates, *Panathen.* Orat. xii. p. 238, *b. sqq.*

XLIX.

SIR, I would ask whether any man will tell me that the crime of rebellion depends on five, or six, or fifty, or five thousand men assembled together? I say, no; that is not the standard to which to refer the question of rebellion. If there be a systematic plan formed for the destruction of a country, and there is a concert of men, whether three or five, or any other number, to accomplish that end, whether by burglary, or robbery, or murder, or any species of criminality whatever, or, in furtherance of that plan, to deter the loyal and peaceable part of the community from being true to their allegiance, for the purpose of executing with more facility their martial law, as a system either of terror or otherwise, to rob triumphantly, or take away by stealth—whether it be 'the pestilence that walketh in the darkness, or the sword that wasteth in the noonday,' if its character be rebellion, rebellion be it called: if its effect be to defeat the purposes of civil process, whether by skulking with the dagger of the assassin in its hand, or by assuming the parade, the pomp, and the circumstance of, I will not say glorious war, it is still rebellion. Whether flagitious, bold, and open, or sly, insinuating, and crafty—whether with much or with little bloodshed, may be points that may constitute a difference in the degree, but which is most detestable, is a thing not worth debating.

L.

THOSE are terrible conjunctures, when the discontents of a nation, not light and capricious discontents, but discontents which have been steadily increasing during a long series of years, have attained their full maturity. The discerning few predict the approach of these conjunctures, but predict in vain. To the many, the evil comes as a total eclipse of the sun at noon comes to a nation of savages. Society, which, but a short time before, was in a state of perfect repose, is on a sudden agitated with the most fearful convulsions, and seems to be on the verge of dissolution; and the rulers who, till the mischief was beyond the reach of all ordinary remedies, had never bestowed one thought on its existence, stand bewildered and panic-stricken, without hope or resource, in the midst of the confusion. One such conjuncture this generation has seen. God grant that we may never see another!

LI.

IT is easy to conceive how, under any less beneficent disposition of the masses of hill, the continents of the earth might either have been covered with enormous lakes, as parts of North America actually are covered, or have become wildernesses of pestiferous marsh, upon which the water would have dried as it fell, leaving them for great part of the year desert. Such districts do exist, and exist in vastness: the whole earth is not prepared for the habitation of man; only certain small portions are prepared for him—the houses, as it were, of the human race, from which they are to look abroad upon the rest of the world, not to wonder or complain that it is not all house, but to be grateful for the kindness of the admirable building in the house itself as compared with the rest. It would be as absurd to think it an evil that all the world is not fit for us to inhabit, as to think it an evil that the globe is no larger than it is. As much as we shall ever need is evidently assigned to us for our dwelling-place: the rest, covered with rolling waves or drifting sands, fretted with ice or crested with fire, is set before us for contemplation in uninhabitable magnificence; and that part which we are enabled to inhabit owes its fitness for human life chiefly to its mountain ranges, which, throwing the superfluous rain off as it falls, collect it in streams and lakes, and guide it into given places and in given directions; so that men can build their cities in the midst of fields which they know will be always fertile, and establish the lines of their commerce upon streams that will not fail.

Plato, *Critias.* 110, *sqq.*

LII.

THERE is sufficient evidence to the fact that Palestine also, a country abounding in mountains and barren plains, was enabled in a remote age, under a wise and prosperous administration, to crown its rocks with mould, and cover its sands with verdure, till every corner of the narrow land was devoted to the raising of food for man, and a wide-spread commerce on either sea supplied the requirements of an immense population. She had been reduced from this palmy state by intestine divisions and domestic oppression. She next became the prey of foreign conquerors, and her children, already impoverished and diminished in number, were carried off into distant captivity. Their ultimate restoration to their own country had not sufficed to repair the decay of this exceptional fertility. Successive attacks from Syria and Egypt kept Palestine in a constant state of weakness and poverty; the population outgrew the scanty means of subsistence offered by an ungrateful soil, and the resource of emigration was accepted by one perhaps from choice but by ten times that number from necessity.

Thucydides, i. 2. Isocrates, *Busiris*, Or. xi. 223, D.

LIII.

IF you will secure a contented spirit, you must measure your desires by your fortune and condition, not your fortunes by your desires; that is, be governed by your needs, not by your fancy, by nature, not by evil customs and ambitious principles. He that would shoot an arrow out of a plough, or hunt a hare with an elephant, is not unfortunate for missing the mark or prey, but he is foolish for choosing such unapt instruments: and so is he that runs after contentment with appetites not springing from natural deeds, but from artificial, fantastical, and violent necessities. These are not to be satisfied; or if they were, a man hath chosen an evil instrument towards his contentment: nature did not intend rest to a man by filling of such desires. Is that beast better that hath two or three mountains to graze on, than a little bee that feeds on dew, and lives upon what falls every morning from the storehouses of heaven, clouds and providence? Can a man quench his thirst better out of a river than a full urn, or drink better from the fountain when it is finely paved with marble than when it swells over the green turf?

Plato, *Gorgias*, 493.

LIV.

THE myth is a reproduction of the old story of the break of day. The bright cows, the rays of the sun or the rain-clouds—for both go by the same name—have been stolen by the powers of darkness, by the Night and her manifold progeny. Gods and men are anxious for their return. But where are they to be found? They are hidden in a dark and strong stable, or scattered along the ends of the sky, and the robbers will not restore them. At last, in the farthest distance, the first signs of the Dawn appear; she peers about, and runs with lightning quickness, like a hound upon a scent, across the darkness of the sky. She is looking for something, and following the right path; she has found it. She has heard the lowing of the cows, and she returns to her starting-place with more intense splendour. After her return, there rises Indra, the god of light, ready to do battle in good earnest against the gloomy powers, to break open the strong stable in which the bright cows were kept, and to bring light, and strength, and life back to his pious worshippers.

Plato, *Cratyl.* 405, *sqq.*, 408.

LV.

IT is impossible to enter fully into all the thoughts and feelings that passed through the minds of the early poets when they formed names for that far far East from whence even the early dawn, the sun, the day, their own life, seemed to spring. A new life flashed up every morning before their eyes, and the fresh breezes of the dawn reached them like greetings wafted across the golden threshold of the sky from the distant lands beyond the mountains, beyond the clouds, beyond the dawn, beyond 'the immortal sea which brought us hither.' The Dawn seemed to them to open golden gates for the sun to pass in triumph, and while those gates were open their eyes and their minds strove in their childish way to pierce beyond the limits of this finite world. That silent aspect awakened in the human mind the conception of the Infinite, the Immortal, the Divine, and the names of Dawn became naturally the names of higher powers.

Plato, *Cratyl.* 411, B.

LVI.

THEN they looked round upon the earth, and said within themselves, 'Where is the All-Father, if All-Father there be? Not in this earth; for it will perish. Nor in the sun, moon, or stars; for they will perish too. Where is he who abideth for ever?' Then they lifted up their eyes, and saw, as they thought, beyond sun, and moon, and stars, and all which changes, and will change, the clear blue sky, the boundless firmament of heaven. That never changed; that was always the same. The clouds and storms rolled far below it, and all the bustle of this noisy world; but there the sky was still, as bright and calm as ever. The All-Father must be there, unchangeable in the unchanging heaven; bright, and pure, and boundless like the heavens: and like the heavens, too, silent and far off.

So they named him after the heaven, Tuisco—the God who lives in the clear heaven, the heavenly Father. He was the Father of Gods and men: and man was the son of Tuisco and Hertha—heaven and earth.

Plato, *Cratyl.* 396, 397, c. *sqq.*

LVII.

Æschines. O THAT we had been born in other days! The best men always fall upon the worst.

Phocion. The gods have not granted us, Æschines, the choice of being born when we would: that of dying when we would, they have. Thank them for it, as one among the most excellent of their gifts, and remain or go as utility or dignity may require. Whatever can happen to a wise and virtuous man from his worst enemy, whatever is most dreaded by the inconsiderate and irresolute, has happened to him frequently from himself, and not only without his inconvenience, but without his observation. We are prisoners as often as we bolt our doors, exiles as often as we walk to Munychia, and dead as often as we sleep. It would be a folly and a shame to argue that these things are voluntary, and that what our enemy imposes are not: they should be the more if they befell us from necessity, unless necessity be a weaker reason than caprice. In fine, Æschines, I shall then call the times bad when they make me so; at present they are to be borne, as must be the storm that follows them.

LVIII.

THE Greeks had no abhorrence for kings: the descendant of a hero-race, ruling over a people whom his fathers had ruled from time immemorial, was no subject for obloquy either with the people or with the philosophers. But a tyrant, a man of low or ordinary birth, who by force or fraud had seated himself on the necks of his countrymen, to gorge each prevailing passion of his nature at their cost, with no principle but the interest of his own power, such a man was regarded as a wild beast, that had broken into the fold of society, and whom it was every one's right and duty, by any means or with any weapon, presently to destroy. Such mere monsters of selfishness Christian Europe has rarely seen. The most unprincipled of modern sovereigns would yet have acknowledged that he owed a duty to his people for the discharge of which he was answerable to God: but the Greek tyrant regarded his subjects as the mere instruments of his own gratification: fortune or his own superiority had given him extraordinary means of indulging his favourite passions, and it would be folly to forego the opportunity.

Isocrates, *de Pace*, 111 [Orat. viii. 177]; *Evagoras*, 35 [Orat. ix. 195].
Xenophon, *Hiero*. ii. 6.

LIX.

IN a community of hunters or shepherds every man easily and necessarily becomes a soldier. His ordinary avocations are perfectly compatible with all the duties of military service. However remote may be the expedition on which he is bound, he finds it easy to transport with him the stock from which he derives his subsistence. The whole people is an army; the whole year a march. But a people which subsists by the cultivation of the earth is in a very different situation. The husbandman is bound to the soil on which he labours. A long campaign would be ruinous to him. Still his pursuits are such as to give to his frame both the active and passive strength necessary to a soldier. Nor do they demand his uninterrupted attention. Thus the armies of Rome were supplied during its earlier wars. The season during which the fields did not require the presence of the cultivators sufficed for a short inroad and battle.

Xenophon, *de Rep. Lac.* vii. Thucydides, i. 141.

LX.

THERE is scarce such another destructive thing to kingdoms and commonwealths, as that the counsellors, or senators, who sit at the helm, should be naturally scorners; who, to show themselves courageous advisers, are always extenuating the greatness of dangers, insulting, as fearful wretches, those who weigh them as they ought, and ridiculing the ripening delays of counsel and debate, as tedious matters of oratory, unserviceable to the general issue of business. They despise rumours as the breath of the rabble, and things that will soon pass over, though the counsels of princes are to be chiefly directed from hence. They account the power and authority of laws but nets unfit to hold great matters. They reject, as dreams and melancholy notions, those counsels and precautions that regard futurity at a distance. They satirize and banter such men as are really prudent and knowing in affairs, or such as bear noble minds, and are capable of advising. In short, they sap all the foundations of political government at once—a thing which deserves the greater attention, as it is not effected by open attack, but by secret undermining; nor is it, by any means, so much suspected among mankind as it deserves.

Thucydides, iii. 37, 38, 42, 43; vi. 35, 36-40.
Isocrates, *de Pace*, 10, *sqq.* [Orat. viii. 160.]

LXI.

THE condition of Dionysius seemed desperate. Blockaded by sea and land, with a people impatient of his despotism, with a force of mercenaries, who, the moment that he became unable to pay them, might betray him either to the enemy without the walls, or to his political adversaries within : he held a council with his friends in the citadel, and expressed his purpose of leaving Syracuse to its fate, and attempting to effect his own escape by sea. One of them boldly answered, 'A king's robe is a noble winding-sheet.' At these words the spirit of Dionysius rose within him, and he resolved to live or die a king.

Isocrates, *Archid.* Orat. vi. p. 125.

LXII.

IT was the afternoon of the day : and as it was the season of the Dionysia, when the great dramatic contests took place, and the prizes were awarded to the most approved poet, the whole Tarentine people were assembled in the theatre, the seats of which looked directly towards the sea. All saw a Roman fleet of ships of war in undoubted breach of the treaty existing between the two states, which forbade the Romans to sail to the eastward of the Lacinian headland, attempting to make its way into their harbour. Full of wine and in the careless spirits of a season of festival, they readily listened to a worthless demagogue named Philocharis, who called upon them to punish instantly the treachery of the Romans, and save their ships and their city. So the Tarentines manned their ships, sailed out to meet the Romans, put them instantly to flight, sunk four of their ships without resistance, and took one with all its crew.

Thucydides, iii. 71 ; vi. 44, 52.

LXIII.

IT is difficult even for the imagination to conceive the feelings of such a man at the moment of so sublime a discovery. What a bewildering crowd of conjectures must have thronged upon his mind as to the land which lay before him covered with darkness. That it was fruitful, was evident from the vegetables which floated from its shores. He thought, too, that he perceived in the balmy air the fragrance of aromatic groves. The moving light which he had beheld, had proved that it was the residence of man. But what were its inhabitants? Were they like those of the other parts of the globe? or were they some strange and monstrous race, such as the imagination in those times was prone to give to all remote and unknown regions? Had he come upon some wild island far in the Indian Sea? or was this the famed Cipango itself, the object of his golden fancies? A thousand speculations of the kind must have swarmed upon him, as with his anxious crews he waited for the night to pass away, wondering whether the morning light would reveal a savage wilderness, or dawn upon spicy groves, and glittering fanes, and gilded cities, and all the splendour of Oriental civilisation.

LXIV.

IT was about the middle of April that Columbus arrived at Barcelona, where every preparation had been made to give him a solemn and magnificent reception. The beauty and serenity of the weather in that genial season and favoured climate contributed to give splendour to this memorable ceremony. As he drew near the place, many of the more youthful courtiers and hidalgos of gallant bearing came forth to meet and welcome him. His entrance into this noble city has been compared to one of those triumphs which the Romans were accustomed to decree to conquerors. First were paraded the Indians painted according to their savage fashion, and decorated with tropical feathers, and with their national ornaments of gold; after these were borne various kinds of live parrots, together with stuffed birds and animals of unknown species, and rare plants, supposed to be of precious qualities: while great care was taken to make a conspicuous display of Indian coronets, bracelets, and other decorations of gold, which might give an idea of the wealth of the newly-discovered regions. After these followed Columbus on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade of Spanish chivalry. The streets were almost impassable from the countless multitude: the windows and balconies were crowded with the fair; the very roofs were covered with spectators. It seemed as if the public eye could not be sated with gazing on these trophies of an unknown world, or on the remarkable man by whom it had been discovered.

Appian, *Hist. Rom.* viii. 66.

LXV.

THE beginning of nations, those excepted of whom sacred books have spoken, is to this day unknown; nor only the beginning, but the deeds also of many succeeding ages, yea periods of ages, either wholly unknown or obscured and blemished with Fables. Whether it were that the use of letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themselves at certain revolutions of time fatally decaying, and degenerating into sloth and ignorance: whereby the monuments of more ancient civility have been some destroyed, some lost. Perhaps disesteem and contempt of the public affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly ofttimes we see that wise men and of best ability have forborne to write the acts of their own days, while they beheld with a quiet loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all history the persons and their actions were, who either by Fortune or some rude election had attained as a sore judgment, and ignominy upon the land, to have chief sway in managing the commonwealth.

Thucydides, i. 20, *sqq.* 97. Isocrates, *Panegyr. ad init.* Orat. iv. 41, *sqq.*; *Panathenaic. ad init.* Orat. xii. 232.

LXVI.

BUT notwithstanding all these preparations on this side the sea, the relief and provision was very slowly supplied to the other side, where the rebels still increased in strength, and by the fame of these propositions enlarged their power, very many persons of honour and fortune, who till then had sat still, and either were, or seemed to be, averse to the rebellion, joining with them, as being desperate, and conceiving the utter suppressing of their religion, and the very extirpation of their nation, to be decreed against them. And, without doubt, the great reformers here were willing enough to drive them to any extremity, both out of revenge and contempt, as a people easy to be rooted out, and that the war might be kept up still; since they feared an union in that kingdom might much prejudice their designs in this, both as it might supply the king with power, and take away much of theirs; whereas now they had opportunity, with reference to Ireland, to raise both men and money, which they might be able to employ upon more pressing occasions, as they will be found afterwards to have done. Neither was it out of their expectation and view, that, by the king's consenting to that severe decree, he might very probably discourage his catholic subjects, in his other dominions, from any extraordinary acts of duty and affection: at least, that it would render him less considered by most catholic princes.

Thucydides, viii. 66. 46. 2.

LXVII.

TO the various overtures made by the enemy, the uncompromising old general replied that he could enter into no engagements of any kind in the absence of instructions from the supreme government. An order opportunely arrived from head-quarters to confirm his intention of standing fast. But the want of money and provisions had begun by this time to press heavily upon the troops. As a matter of necessary precaution, the native inhabitants, to the number of 5000, were now expelled from the town, and Candahar became a secure entrenched position from which operations could safely be extended into the neighbouring districts. These measures taken, he marched out with a considerable force, hoping to provoke the Douranees to a battle, but the enemy skilfully evading a collision, moved back suddenly upon the town, and made a desperate night attack, in which, after burning one of the gates, and calling out all the energies of the garrison for the defence, they were repulsed with great slaughter.

Thucydides, ii. 72, *sqq.*

LXVIII.

THIS cordial assurance and sympathy, from one who exercised a control over the public counsels beyond any other ruler, effectually dispelled the doubts that lingered in the mind of Cortes. He readily accepted his invitation to continue his march at once to the capital, where he would find so much better accommodation for his army, than on a small town on the frontier. The sick and wounded, placed in hammocks, were borne on the shoulders of the friendly natives; and as the troops drew near the city, the inhabitants came flocking out in crowds to meet them, rending the air with joyous acclamations, and wild bursts of their rude Indian minstrelsy. Amidst the general jubilee, however, were heard sounds of wailing and sad lament, as some unhappy relative or friend, looking earnestly into the diminished files of their countrymen, sought in vain for some dear and familiar countenance, and as they turned disappointed away, gave utterance to their sorrow in tones that touched the heart of every soldier in the army. With these mingled accompaniments of joy and woe, the wayworn columns of Cortes at length re-entered the republican capital.

Thucydides, vii. 75. Xenophon, *Hellenic*, vii. ii. 9.

LXIX.

SUDDENLY in the spring, ere the enemy's armies began to move, Scipio set out with his whole army of nearly 30,000 men, and his fleet, for this town, which he could reach by the coast route from the mouth of the Ebro in a few days, and surprised the Punic garrison, not above 1000 men strong, by a combined attack by sea and land. The town, situated on a tongue of land projecting into the harbour, found itself threatened at once on three sides by the Roman fleet, and on the fourth by the legions: and all help was far distant. Nevertheless the commandant, Mago, defended himself with resolution, and armed the citizens, as the soldiers did not suffice to man the walls. A sortie was attempted, but the Romans repelled it with ease, and without taking time to open a regular siege, began the assault on the landward side.

Eagerly the assailants pushed their advance along the narrow land approach to the town: new columns constantly relieved those that were fatigued: the weak garrison was utterly exhausted; but the Romans had gained no advantage. Scipio had not expected any: the assault was merely designed to draw away the garrison from the side next to the harbour, where, having been informed that part of the latter was left dry at ebb-tide, he meditated a second attack. While the assault was raging on the landward side, Scipio sent a division with ladders over the shallow bank, 'where Neptune himself showed them the way,' and they had actually the good fortune to find the walls at that point undefended. Thus the city was won on the first day: whereupon Mago, in the citadel, capitulated.

Thucydides, iv. 110, *sqq.*

LXX.

THE Carthaginians were already losing their front-rank warriors, the picked men of the whole, and beginning to fight at a disadvantage, when the gods, yet further befriending Timoleon, set the seal to their discomfiture by an intervention manifest and terrific. A storm of the most violent character began. The hill-tops were shrouded in complete darkness: the wind blew a hurricane: rain and hail poured abundantly, with all the awful accompaniments of thunder and lightning. To the Greeks this storm was of little inconvenience, because it came in their backs. But to the Carthaginians, pelting as it did directly in their faces, it occasioned both great suffering and soul-subduing alarm. The rain and hail beat, and the lightning flashed, in their faces, so that they could not see to deal with hostile combatants: the noise of the wind, and of hail rattling against their armour, prevented the orders of their officers from being heard: the folds of their voluminous military tunics were surcharged with rain-water, so as to embarrass their movements; the ground presently became so muddy that they could not keep their footing; and when they once slipped, the weight of their equipment forbade all recovery.

Diodorus, xvi. 79. Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 27.
Thucydides, vi. 79, 70; vii. 79.

LXXI.

WITH the whole blockading squadron, which had taken on board volunteers from the legions, he started about midnight, and sailing in good order, with his right wing by the shore, and his left in the open sea, he safely reached the harbour of Drepana at sunrise. The Phœnician admiral, Artabas, commanded there. Although surprised, he did not lose his presence of mind, or allow himself to be shut up in the harbour; but as the Roman ships entered the harbour, which opens to the south in the form of a sickle, on the one side, he withdrew his vessels from it by the opposite entrance, which was still free, and stationed them in line on the outside. No other course remained to the Roman admiral but to recall as speedily as possible the foremost vessels from the harbour, and to make his arrangements for battle in like manner in front of it. But in consequence of this retrograde movement he lost the free choice of position, and was obliged to accept battle in a line, which, on the one hand, was outflanked by that of the enemy to the extent of five ships (for there was not time fully to deploy the vessels as they issued from the harbour), and on the other hand, was crowded so close on the shore, that his vessels could neither retreat, nor sail behind the line so as to come to each other's aid. Not only was the battle lost ere it began, but the Roman fleet was so completely ensnared that it fell almost wholly into the hands of the enemy.

Thucydides, ii. 83, *sqq.*; vii. 39, *sqq.*

LXXII.

BUT was this all? Even at that very moment, when they were endeavouring to induce you to admit these explanations, to be contented with the avowal, that France offered herself as a general guarantee for every successful revolution, and would interfere only to sanction and confirm whatever the free and uninfluenced choice of the people might have decided, what were their orders to their generals on the same subject? In the midst of these amicable explanations with you came forth a decree which I really believe must be effaced from the minds of gentlemen opposite to me, if they can prevail upon themselves for a moment to hint even a doubt upon the origin of this quarrel, not only as to this country, but as to all the nations of Europe with whom France has been subsequently engaged in hostility. I speak of the decree of the fifteenth of December.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 28 [Orat. xviii. 232, *sqq*].
Æschines *in Ctes.* 58 [Orat. iii. 62]; 73 [Orat. iii. 64].

LXXIII.

'AH, Demosthenes,' whispered he, 'your time is fairly gone by, we have orators now, whom even you, with all your acuteness and capacity, cannot comprehend.'

'Whom will they convince,' said I.

'Convince!' cried my narrator, 'who has ever wished to be persuaded against the grain in any matter of importance or utility? A child, if you tell him a horrible or a pathetic story, is anxious to be persuaded it is true: men and women, if you tell them one injurious to the respectability of a neighbour. Desire of persuasion rests and dies here. We listen to those whom we know to be of the same opinion as ourselves, and we call them wise for being of it; but we avoid such as differ from us, we pronounce them rash before we have heard them, and still more afterwards lest we should be thought at any time to have erred. We come already convinced, we want surprises as at our theatres, astonishment as at the mysteries of Eleusis.'

'But what astonishes, what surprises you?'

'To hear an Athenian talk two hours together, hold us silent and immoveable as the figures of Hermes before our doors, and find not a single one among us that can carry home with him a thought or an expression.'

'Thou art right!' I exclaimed, 'he is greater than Triptolemus; he not only gives you a plentiful meal out of chaff and husks, but he persuades you that it is a savoury repast.'

Plato, *Phædrus*, 260, *sqq.*

LXXIV.

'HAVE courage,' said he, 'Philocles!' raising his voice, 'be not offended that I say, Have courage! 'Tis cowardice alone betrays us. For whence can false shame be except from cowardice? To be ashamed of what one is sure can never be shameful, must needs be from the want of resolution. We seek the right and wrong in things; we examine what is honourable, what shameful; and having at last determined, we dare not stand to our own judgment, and are ashamed to own there is really a shameful and an honourable. "Hear me," says one who pretends to value Philocles and to be valued by him; "there can be no such thing as real valuableness or worth; nothing in itself estimable or amiable, odious or shameful. All is opinion: 'tis opinion which makes beauty and unmakes it. The graceful or ungraceful in things, the decorum and its contrary, the amiable and unamiable, vice, virtue, honour, shame, all this is founded in opinion only. Opinion is the law and measure. Nor has opinion any rule besides mere chance, which varies it, as custom varies, and makes now this, now that, to be thought worthy, according to the reign of fashion, and the ascendant power of education." What shall we say to such a one? How represent to him his absurdity and extravagance? Will he desist the sooner?'

Plato, *Protag.* 337 D.; *Phædrus*, 231 E.; *Thætet.* 187 B. *sqq.*; *Gorgias*, 482. C. 483. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* I, 3, 2.

LXXV.

BACON has remarked that in ages when philosophy was stationary, the mechanical arts went on improving. Why was this? Evidently because the mechanic was not content with so careless a mode of induction as served the purpose of the philosopher. And why was the philosopher more easily satisfied than the mechanic? Evidently because the object of the mechanic was to mould things, whilst the object of the philosopher was only to mould words. Careful induction is not at all necessary to the making of a good syllogism. But it is indispensable to the making of a good shoe. Mechanics, therefore, have always been, as far as the range of their humble but useful callings extended, not anticipators, but interpreters of nature. And when a philosophy arose, the object of which was to do on a large scale what the mechanic does on a small scale, to extend the power, and to supply the wants of men, the truth of the premises which logically is a matter altogether unimportant, became a matter of the highest importance; and the careless induction with which men of learning had previously been satisfied gave place of necessity to an induction far more accurate and satisfactory.

Plato, *Gorgias*, 517 B. *sqq.* Aristotle, *Ethic.* 1, 7, 17.

LXXVI.

WHEN the mental appetite of men is become like the corporeal, and cannot relish any food without some piquant sauce, so that people will rather starve than live on solid fare; when substantial and sound discourse findeth small attention or acceptance; in such a time, he that can, may in complaisance, and for fashion's sake, vouchsafe to be facetious: an ingenious vein coupled with an honest mind may be a good talent: he shall employ wit commendably, who by it can further the interests of goodness, alluring men first to listen, then inducing them to consent unto its wholesome dictates and precepts.

Plato, *Repub.* 452. Euripides, *Medea*, 845.

LXXVII.

SUCH being their general idea of the gods, we can now easily understand the habitual tone of their feelings towards what was beautiful in nature. With us the idea of the Divinity is apt to get separated from the life of nature; and imagining our God upon a cloudy throne, far above the earth, and not in the flowers or waters, we approach those visible things with a theory that they are dead, governed by physical laws, and so forth. But coming to them, we find the theory fail; that they are not dead; that, say what we choose about them, the instinctive sense of their being alive is too strong for us; and in scorn of all physical law, the wilful fountain sings, and the kindly flowers rejoice. And then, puzzled, and yet happy; pleased, and yet ashamed of being so; accepting sympathy from nature, which we do not believe it gives, and giving sympathy to nature, which we do not believe it receives,—mixing, besides, all manner of purposeful play and conceit with those involuntary fellowships,—we fall necessarily into the curious web of hesitating sentiment, pathetic fallacy, and wondering fancy, which form a great part of our modern view of nature. But the Greek never removed his god out of nature at all; never attempted for a moment to contradict his instinctive sense that God was everywhere. 'The tree *is* glad,' said he, 'I know it is; I can cut it down; no matter, there was a nymph in it. The water *does* sing,' said he; 'I can dry it up; but no matter, there was a naïad in it.' But in thus clearly defining his belief, he threw it entirely into a human form, and gave his faith to nothing but the image of his own humanity.

Plato, *Phædrus*, 229 B.; 230 A.; 258 E. *sqq.*'

LXXVIII.

POETS have lived so in times wnen true nobleness was better reverenced; and so should they ever live. Sufficiently provided for within, they had need of little from without; the gift of communicating lofty emotions and glorious images to men, in melodies and words that charmed the ear, and fixed themselves inseparably on whatever objects they referred to, of old enraptured the world, and served the gifted as a rich inheritance. At the courts of kings, at the tables of the great, beneath the windows of the fair, the sound of them was heard, while the ear and the soul were shut for all beside; and men felt as we do when delight comes over us, and we stop with rapture, if among the dingles we are crossing the voice of the nightingale starts out touching and strong. They found a home in every habitation of the world, and the lowliness of their condition but exalted them the more. The hero listened to their songs; and the conqueror of the earth did reverence to a poet, for he felt that, without poets, his own wild and vast existence would pass away like a whirlwind and be forgotten for ever. The lover wished that he could feel his longings and his joys so variedly and so harmoniously as the poet's inspired lips had skill to show them forth; and even the rich man could not of himself discern such costliness in his idol grandeurs as when they were presented to him shining in the splendour of the poet's spirit, sensible to all worth, and exalting all. Nay, if thou wilt have it, who but the poet was it that first formed gods for us? that exalted us to them, and brought them down to us?

Plato, *Ion*, 533 D. *sqq.*; *Sympos.* 215 A.B.; *Sophist.* 265.

LXXIX.

WHEN they came to the few Indian houses which they thought had been the town, which was not above half-a-mile off, they were under a great disappointment: for there were not above twelve or thirteen houses; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not. They consulted therefore what to do; and were some time before they could resolve; for if they fell upon these, they must kill all the inmates, and it was ten to one but some of them might escape, it being in the night, though the moon was up: and if one escaped he would raise all the town, so they should have a whole army upon them. Again, on the other hand, if they went away, and left those untouched (for the people were all asleep), they could not tell which way to look for the town. However, the last was the best advice. So they resolved to leave them, and look for the town as well as they could. They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree. This, they presently concluded, would be a good guide to them. For they said the cow certainly belonged to the town before them or the town behind them: and, if they untied her, they should see which way she went. If she went back, they had nothing to say to her: but if she went forward, they had nothing to do but to follow her.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. iv. 14-22; vii. iii. 42.

LXXX.

WHILE they were animating one another to the work, three of them that were a little before the rest, called out aloud that they had found Tom Jeffery. They all ran up to the place, and so it was indeed; for there they found the poor fellow hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut. There was an Indian house just by the tree, where they found sixteen or seventeen of the principal Indians who had been concerned in the fray with us before; and two or three of them wounded with our shot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that house, but knew not their number.

The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, that they swore they would be revenged, and that not an Indian who came into their hands should have quarter, and to work they went immediately; and yet not so madly as by the rage and fury they were in might be expected.

Their first care was to get something that would soon take fire; but, after a little search, they found that would be to no purpose; for most of the houses were low, and thatched with flags or rushes of which the country is full. So they presently made some wild-fire, and in less than a quarter of an hour they had set the town on fire in four or five places, and particularly that house where the Indians had not gone to bed.

Xenophon, *Anab.* vii. c. v. 14; v. c. ii. 3-27. Herodotus, v. 101.

LXXXI.

As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frighted creatures began to rush out to save their lives; but met with their fate in the attempt, and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe. The house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenade, and threw it among them, which at first frighted them, but when it burst, made such havoc, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In short, most of the Indians who were in the open part of the house, were killed or hurt with the grenade, except two or three more who pressed to the door, which the boatswain and two others kept with their bayonets, and despatched all that came that way. But there was another apartment in the house, where the prince or king or whatever he was, and several others were, and these they kept in till the house, which was by this time all of a light, fell in upon them, and they were smothered or burnt together. The heat presently grew so raging, all the houses being made of light combustible stuff, that they could hardly bear the street between them; and their business was to follow the fire for the surer execution. As fast as the fire either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frighted them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing one to another to remember Tom Jeffery.

Xenophon, *Anab.* v. c. ii. 8-27; vii. c. v. 14. Herodotus, v. 101.
Thucydides, vii. 29, 30.

LXXXII.

HOWEVER, we went on, and at length came to the town, though there was no entering the streets of it for the fire. The first object we met with was the ruins of a hut or house, or rather the ashes of it, for the house was consumed; and just before it, plain now to be seen by the light of the fire, lay four men, and three women killed; and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire. But this was not all. We saw the fire increase forward, and the cry went on, just as the fire went on, so that we were in the utmost confusion. We advanced a little way further, and behold, to our astonishment, three women naked, and crying in a most dreadful manner, came flying, as if indeed they had wings, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our English butchers, for I can call them no better, in their rear, who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them; and one that was killed by their shot, fell down in our sight. When the rest saw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them, they set up a dreadful shriek, especially the women; and two of them fell down, as if already dead with the fright.

Xenophon, *Anab.* vii. c. v. 14; v. c. ii. 8-27; i. c. x. 2; ii. c. v. 32. Thucydides, vii. 29, 30.

LXXXIII.

THE next day saw the boat leave the ship with a few more men than on the previous occasion, containing in her centre the coffin, covered by a flag, and having in its interior the pseudo corpse. It was met by the Sarkese at the landing-place—nothing more than a few rude steps cut into the face of the cliff; and each man was permitted to leave the boat only after undergoing a most rigid search. All suspicion was at rest with the Sarkese, who, after crossing themselves with devout diligence, proceeded to give assistance in the removal of the coffin. To the invaders this was a peculiarly anxious time, as it was absolutely necessary that none of the islanders should have any idea of its weight. Long ropes had been provided, as from the precipitous nature of the place, it was requisite to draw the coffin up the rocks; and the seamen taking great care that none of the Sarkese should lend a hand in the work, with hearts, as may be conjectured, full of the most painful excitement, eventually, after the greatest difficulty, and by an amount of exertion the more painful, from the necessity of its concealment, succeeded in effecting its safe landing upon the summit of the rock. The men drew a long breath; one of the most formidable of their difficulties had been overcome, and they began to make arrangements for the completion of the funeral ceremony. The Sarkese despatched a body of men to secure the boat, while the rest accompanied their visitors, who shouldered the coffin with a solemnity becoming the supposed character of the occasion, and, with much of the semblance of unfeigned sorrow, carried the remains towards the burial-place.

Thucydides, iv. 67.

LXXXIV.

BUT all was not sufficient, and hundreds of famished wretches died every day from extremity of suffering. Some dragged themselves into the houses, and drew their last breath alone and in silence. Others sank down in the public streets. Wherever they died they were left: there was no one to bury or to remove them. Familiarity with the spectacle made men indifferent to it: they looked on in dumb despair, waiting for their own turn: there was no complaint, no lamentation, but deep unutterable woe. Men's minds were unsettled by these strange and accumulated horrors. They resorted to all the superstitious rites prescribed by their religion to stay the pestilence. They called on their priests to invoke the gods in their behalf: but the oracles were dumb, or gave only gloomy responses: their deities had deserted them, and in their place they saw signs of celestial wrath, telling of still greater woes in reserve. Stunned by their calamities, reason was bewildered, and they became the sport of the wildest fancies.

Thucydides, ii. 49, 52-54.

LXXXV.

FOR most of the dreadful details of that horrid night, I must refer to Orme and other writers. It may be enough to mention that the first effect of the confinement seems to have been a profuse perspiration; then intolerable and raging thirst; next excruciating pains in the breast, with difficulty of breathing, little short of suffocation. Various means were attempted by the unhappy prisoners to gain room. They stripped off their clothes, and several times tried the experiment of sitting down; but when the order was given to rise again, numbers always sank dead to the ground! Some skins of water were brought to the window; but as no one could wait to be regularly served, furious and fatal contests took place, during which the water was scattered uselessly over their heads. Delirium and stupefaction beset most of those who remained alive. Dreadful struggles and mortal combats then arose in the attempts to reach the windows; so that, at two in the morning, not more than fifty remained alive. Mr. Holwell had sunk apparently dead in the heap when daylight broke; but as it was thought he might have more influence than the others at the window, he was drawn up, and Captain Mills, with rare generosity, resigned his fresh-air place to him. Mr. Holwell had scarcely begun to recover his senses when the nabob sent to know if the chief of the English was alive, and being told that he had survived the night, the prison-door was unlocked. But even then the dead were so piled one upon another, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed near half-an-hour in removing the bodies which lay against the door, before they could open a passage to go out, one at a time.

Thucydides, ii. 49; iii. 81. Andocides, *de Myster.* § 48 [i. 8].

LXXXVI.

THERE were in the town five-and-twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of horse and dragoons; the line about the town was finished; yet in some places the graff was wider and deeper than in others. The castle within the town was very well prepared, and supplied with great store of provisions to endure a siege. The opinions were several: the officers of the Cornish were of opinion, that it was best to proceed by way of approach; because, the ground being very good, it would in a very short time be done; and since there was no army of the enemy in a possibility to relieve it, the securest way would be the best: whereas the works were so good, that they must expect to lose very many men; and if they were beaten off all their summer hopes would be destroyed; it not being easy again to make up the spirit of the army for a new action. Besides, they alleged, the well-affected party in the city, which was believed to be very great, would, after they had been closely besieged three or four days, have a greater influence upon the soldiers, and be able to do more towards the surrender, than they could upon a storm, when they would be equally sensible of the disorder of the soldiers, and their own damage by plunder, as the other; and the too late example of the executed citizens would keep men from offering at any insurrection in the city.

Thucydides, ii. 2, 3; v. 7; vi. 99, *sqq.*; vi. 47, *sqq.*

LXXXVII.

THEN Hannibal called his soldiers together, and told them openly that he was going to lead them into Italy. 'The Romans,' he said, 'have demanded that I and my principal officers should be delivered up to them as malefactors. Soldiers, will you suffer such an indignity? The Gauls are holding out their arms to us, inviting us to come to them, and to assist them in revenging their manifold injuries. And the country which we shall invade, so rich in corn and wine and oil, so full of flocks and herds, so covered with flourishing cities, will be the richest prize that could be offered by the gods to reward your valour.' One common shout from the soldiers assured him of their readiness to follow him. He thanked them, fixed the day on which they were to be ready to march, and dismissed them.

Xenophon, *Anab.* i. c. iv. 11; i. c. vii. 2; ii. c. i. 8, *sqq.*; iii. c ii. 7, *sqq.*; iii. c. ii. 21, *sqq.*; iii. c. i. 19.

LXXXVIII.

HERE he obtained from the natives on the right bank, by paying a fixed price, all their boats and vessels of every description with which they were accustomed to traffic down the river: they allowed him also to cut timber for the construction of others; and thus in two days he was provided with the means of transporting his army. But finding that the Gauls were assembled on the eastern bank to oppose his passage, he sent off a detachment of his army by night with native guides, to ascend the right bank, for about two-and-twenty miles, and then to cross as they could, where there was no enemy to stop them. The woods which lined the river supplied this detachment with the means of constructing barks and rafts enough for the passage; they took advantage of one of the many islands in this part of the Rhone, to cross where the stream was divided; and thus they all reached the left bank in safety. There they took up a strong position, and rested for four-and-twenty hours after their exertions in the march to the passage of the river.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. iii. 3, 10, 17, 27; iii. c. iv. 7; i. c. v. 10; ii. c. iii. 10.

LXXXIX.

HAMILTON of Bothwellhaugh was the person who committed this barbarous action. He had been condemned to death soon after the battle of Langside, and owed his life to the Regent's clemency. But part of his estate had been bestowed upon one of the Regent's favourites, who seized his house, and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the open fields, where, before next morning, she became furiously mad. This injury made a deeper impression upon him than the benefit which he had received, and from that moment he vowed to be revenged upon the Regent. He followed the Regent for some time, and watched for an opportunity to strike the blow. He resolved at last to wait till his enemy should arrive at Linlithgow, through which he was to pass on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. He took his stand in a wooden gallery, which had a window towards the street, and having taken effectual precautions to conceal himself from the observation of those without, calmly expected the Regent's approach, who had lodged during the night in a part of the town not far distant. Some indistinct information of the danger which threatened him had been conveyed to the Regent, and he paid so much regard to it, that he resolved to return by the same gate through which he had entered, and to fetch a compass round the town. But as the crowd about the gate was great, and he himself unacquainted with fear, he proceeded directly along the street; and the throng of the people obliging him to move very slowly, gave the assassin time to take so true an aim, that he shot him with a single bullet through the lower part of his belly, and killed the horse of a gentleman who rode on his other side.

Thucydides, vi. c. 54-59; i. c. 134.

XC.

OUR army, having entered the territories of the Turks, experienced no hostility during several days: the Sultan wished by his forbearance to allure them into the heart of his dominions, until want of food and the asperities of the road should give him more ready means of annoying them. That nefarious traitor had seized the rugged mountain-tops, the thickets of the woods, and the impassable rivers; and whilst he professed to observe the treaty which he had made, he opposed arrows and stones to our passage. This was the market and safe-conduct which he had promised us: such is the faith that must be placed in the unbelievers; they always esteem valour and treachery as equally praiseworthy towards an enemy. Moreover, they avoid above all things coming to close quarters and fighting hand to hand; but they shower their arrows from a distance; and with them it is no less glory to flee than to put their enemy to flight. They attack both extremities of the army, at one time the rear, at another time the van; that if by any chance they can separate them, they may attack one or the other by itself. Night brought with it neither sleep nor rest; for a terrific clamour disturbed the army on every side. A shower of javelins pierced through their tents, numbers of them were slain asleep, and the enemy hung on them so incessantly, that for six weeks they ate their meals under arms, and slept under arms, without taking off their coats of mail. At the same time they were assailed by such violent hunger and thirst, that when they lost their horses by the chances of war, it was to them a consolation and a source of delight to feed on horse-flesh and drink the blood: in this manner, by the ingenuity which necessity teaches, they found out an additional use for the animals on which they rode.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iii. c. i. 2, 15; iv. c. i.; ii. c. 4.

XCI.

WHEN the ladders were fixed, those who mounted foremost were very nearly discovered by two parties of the patrol, which passed in opposite directions soon after each other. Then, after Aratus with the main body had reached the foot of the wall, a great hound, which was kept in the nearest tower, having been at length roused by the barking of the smaller dogs, joined in with it so loudly as to attract the attention of a sentry beyond. But as his master, when called upon to account for the noise, attributed it to the recent passing of the patrol, the followers of Aratus, who overheard the conversation, concluded that he must have been gained to favour their enterprise, and begun to mount the ladders with revived spirits. It was now near daybreak, and the ladders would only bear the weight of one man at a time. When forty had reached the top, Aratus himself followed, and, having waited for but a very few more, hastened to the tyrant's house, and to the guard-room of his mercenary troops. They were overpowered and secured without bloodshed, but Nicolees made his escape by a subterraneous passage.

Thucydides, iv. 135; iii. 20, *sqq.*

XCII.

TO march across this unexplored country with no other guides but Indians, whose fidelity could be little trusted, was the boldest enterprise on which the Spaniards had hitherto ventured in the New World. But the intrepidity of Balboa was such as distinguished him among his countrymen, at a period when every adventurer was conspicuous for daring courage. Nor was bravery his only merit; he was prudent in conduct, generous, affable, and possessed of those popular talents, which, in the most desperate undertakings, inspire confidence and secure attachment. Even after the junction of the volunteers from Hispaniola, he was able to muster only an hundred and ninety men for his expedition. But they were hardy veterans, inured to the climate of America, and ready to follow him through every danger. A thousand Indians attended them to carry their provisions; and to complete their warlike array, they took with them several of those fierce dogs, which were no less formidable than destructive to their naked enemies.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iii. c. i. 2; ii. c. iii. 11; i. c. ix. 1; i. c. ii. 1; ii. c. vi. 1, 16, 21.

XCIII.

BALBOA set out upon this expedition on the first of September, about the time that the periodical rains began to abate. He proceeded by sea, and without any difficulty, to the territories of a Cazique whose friendship he had gained: but no sooner did he begin to advance into the interior part of the country, than he was retarded by every obstacle, which he had reason to apprehend, from the nature of the territory, or the disposition of the inhabitants. Some of the Caziques, at his reproach, fled to the mountains with all their people, and carried off or destroyed whatever could afford subsistence to his troops. Others collected their subjects, in order to oppose his progress, and he quickly perceived what an arduous undertaking it was to conduct such a body of men through hostile nations, across swamps, and rivers, and woods, which had never been passed but by straggling Indians. But by sharing in every hardship with the meanest soldier, by appearing the foremost to meet every danger, by promising confidently to his troops the enjoyment of honour and riches superior to what had been attained by the most successful of their countrymen, he inspired them with such enthusiastic resolution, that they followed him without murmuring.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. i. 1, *sqq.* 8, c. ii. 2; iii. c. i. 2; ii. c. iii. 11; i. c. vii. 6; iii. c. ii. 10, *sqq.*

XCIV.

WHEN they had penetrated a good way into the mountains, a powerful Cazique appeared in a narrow pass with a numerous body of his subjects to oppose their progress. But men who had surmounted so many obstacles, despised the opposition of such feeble enemies. They attacked them with impetuosity, and having dispersed them with much ease and great slaughter, continued their march. Though their guide had represented the breadth of the isthmus to be only a journey of six days, they had already spent twenty-five in forcing their way through the woods and mountains. Many of them were ready to sink under such uninterrupted fatigue in that sultry climate, several were taken ill of dysentery and other diseases frequent in that country, and all became impatient to reach the period of their labours and sufferings. At length the Indians assured them that from the top of the next mountain they should discover the ocean which was the object of their wishes. When, with infinite toil, they had climbed up the greater part of that steep ascent, Balboa commanded his men to halt, and advanced alone to the summit, that he might be the first who should enjoy a spectacle which he had so long desired. As soon as he beheld the South Sea stretching in endless prospect below him, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country, and so honourable to himself. His followers, observing his transport of joy, rushed forward to join in his wonder, exultation, and gratitude. They held on their course to the shore with great alacrity, when Balboa, advancing up to the middle in the waves with his buckler and sword, took possession of that ocean in the name of the king his master, and vowed to defend it, with these arms, against all his enemies.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. c. i. 10, c. ii. 10, c. iii. 30, c. ii. 23, c. v. 16, c. vii. 19, *sqq.*

XCV.

THE youth thought proper to retort when I commanded him to be gone. I am not, thou knowest, very patient, and enforced my commands with a blow, which he returned as roundly. We struggled, till I became desirous that we should part at any rate, which I could only effect by a stroke of my poniard, which according to old use I have, thou knowest, always about me. I had scarcely done this when I repented; but there was no time to think of anything save escape and concealment, for if the house rose on me I was lost; as the fiery old man, who is the head of the family, would have done justice upon me had I been his brother. I took the body hastily on my shoulders to carry it down to the sea-shore, with the purpose of throwing it into a riva, as they call them, or chasm of great depth, where it would have been long enough in being discovered. This done, I intended to jump into the boat which I had lying ready, and set sail for Kirkwall. But as I was walking hastily towards the beach with my burden the poor young fellow groaned, and so apprised me that the wound had not been instantly fatal. I was by this time well concealed among the rocks, and, far from desiring to complete my crime, I laid the young man on the ground, and was doing what I could to staunch the blood, when suddenly an old woman stood before me. She was a person whom I had frequently seen while in Zetland, and to whom they ascribe the character of a sorceress, or, as the Negroes say, an Obi woman. She demanded the wounded man of me, and I was too much pressed for time to hesitate in complying with her request. She pressed her finger on her lip as a sign of secrecy, whistled very low, and a shapeless deformed brute of a dwarf coming to her assistance, they carried the wounded man into one of the caverns with which the place abounds, and I got to my boat and to sea with all expedition.

Xenophon, *Anab.* v. c. viii. 1-26. Antiphon, *de cæde Herod.* 23 [v. 132].

XCVI.

THEY soon gained the utmost verge of the forest, and entered the country inhabited by men without vice; and Asem anticipated in idea the rational delight he hoped to experience in such an innocent society. But they had scarce left the confines of the wood, when they beheld one of the inhabitants flying with hasty steps, and terror in his countenance, from an army of squirrels, that closely pursued him. 'Heavens!' cried Asem, 'why does he fly? What can he fear from animals so contemptible?' He had scarce spoken, when he perceived two dogs pursuing another of the human species, who with equal terror and haste attempted to avoid them. 'This,' cried Asem to his guide, 'is truly surprising; nor can I conceive the reason for so strange an action.' 'Every species of animals,' replied the genius, 'has of late grown very powerful in this country; for the inhabitants, at first, thinking it unjust to use either fraud or force in destroying them, they have insensibly increased and now frequently ravage their harmless frontiers.' 'But they should have been destroyed,' cried Asem; 'you see the consequence of such neglect.' 'Where is then that tenderness you so lately expressed for subordinate animals?' replied the genius, smiling: 'you seem to have forgot that branch of justice.' 'I must acknowledge my mistake,' returned Asem; 'I am now convinced that we must be guilty of tyranny and injustice to the brute creation, if we would enjoy the world ourselves; but let us no longer observe the duty of man to these irrational creatures, but survey their connections with one another.'

XCVII.

AS they walked further up the country, the more he was surprised to see no vestiges of handsome houses, no cities, nor any mark of elegant design. His conductor perceiving his surprise, observed: 'That the inhabitants of this new world were perfectly content with their ancient simplicity; each had a house, which, though homely, was sufficient to lodge his little family; they were too good to build houses, which could only increase their own pride and the envy of the spectator; what they built was for convenience, and not for show.' 'At least then,' said Asem, 'they have neither architects, painters, nor statuaries in their society; but these are idle arts and may be spared. However, before I spend much more time here, you shall have my thanks for introducing me into the society of some of their wisest men; there is scarce any pleasure to me equal to a refined conversation; there is nothing of which I am so enamoured as wisdom.'—'Wisdom,' replied his instructor, 'how ridiculous! we have no wisdom here, for we have no occasion for it; true wisdom is only a knowledge of our own duty and the duty of others to us; but of what use is such wisdom here, where each intuitively performs what is right in himself and expects the same from others? If by wisdom you should mean vain curiosity and empty speculation, as such pleasures have their origin in vanity, luxury, or avarice, we are too good to pursue them.'

Plato, *Legg.* 678, 679.

XCVIII.

'VERY well, sir,' cried the squire, who immediately smoked him, and winking on the rest of the company to prepare us for the sport, 'if you are for a cool argument upon that subject, I am ready to accept the challenge. And first, whether are you for managing it analogically or dialogically?' 'I am for managing it rationally,' cried Moses, quite happy at being permitted to dispute. 'Good again,' cried the squire, 'and firstly of the first, I hope you'll not deny that whatever is, is: if you don't grant me that, I can go no further.' 'Why,' returned Moses, 'I think I may grant that, and make the best of it.' 'I hope, too,' returned the other, 'you'll grant that a part is less than the whole.' 'I grant that too,' cried Moses, 'it is but just and reasonable.' 'I hope,' cried the squire, 'you will not deny that the two angles of a triangle are equal to two right ones.' 'Nothing can be plainer,' returned the other, and looked round with his usual importance. 'Very well,' cried the squire, speaking very quick, 'the premises being thus settled, I proceed to observe that the concatenation of self-existences, proceeding in a reciprocal duplicate ratio, naturally produce a problematical dialogism, which in some measure proves that the essence of spirituality may be referred to the second predicable.' 'Hold! hold!' cried the other, 'I deny that. Do you think I can thus tamely submit to such heterodox doctrines.' 'What?' replied the squire, as if in a passion, 'not submit; answer me one plain question. Do you think Aristotle right when he says that relatives are related?' 'Undoubtedly,' replied the other. 'If so, then,' cried the squire, 'answer me directly to what I propose: Whether do you judge the analytical investigation of the first part of my enthymem deficient *secundum quoad*, or *quoad minus*, and give me your reasons—give me your reasons, I say, directly.' 'I protest,' cried Moses. 'I don't rightly comprehend the force of your reasoning, but if it be reduced to one simple proposition, I fancy it may then have an answer.' 'Oh, sir,' cried the squire, 'I am your most humble servant. I find you want me to furnish you with argument, and intellect too. No, sir, there I protest you are too hard for me.'

Plato, *Republic*, 336, 337, 343, 344; *Protagoras*, 328 D., 329; *Gorgias*, 494 C., 473 D.; *Euthydemus*, 275 D., *sqq.*

XCIX.

I CANNOT help thinking that he would feel very much as I did the first time that I found myself in a foreign country. A thousand novelties attracted my attention; many were strange and some displeasing; and there was more or less that seemed foreign in everything. For this I was prepared; but I was not prepared for another feeling, which very soon and quite unexpectedly sprung up in my mind—'How much is different, and, go where I may, for ever changing! True; but how much is the same everywhere!' It was almost a surprise to me to find that the sun and moon went on much the same way as at home, that there were roads, and rivers, and fields, and woods, and towns, and cities, and streets, and houses filled with people, who might perhaps talk some other language, and dress in some other fashion from mine, but who had evidently much the same notions as to the necessaries of life and the substantials of society; and, without losing all my pride, or patriotism, or prejudice, I got a new idea of the unity of nature.

Plato, *Phædrus*, 230 D.

C.

SAPPHO, the Lesbian, in love with Phaon, arrived at the temple of Apollo, habited like a bride in garments as white as snow. She wore a garland of myrtle on her head, and carried in her hand the little musical instrument of her own invention. After having sung an hymn to Apollo, she hung up her garland on one side of his altar, and her harp on the other. She then tucked up her vestments like a Spartan virgin, and amidst thousands of spectators, who were anxious for her safety, and offered up vows for her deliverance, marched directly forwards to the utmost summit of the promontory, where after having repeated a stanza of her own verses, which we could not hear, she threw herself off the rock with such an intrepidity as was never before observed in any who had attempted that dangerous leap. Many who were present related, that they saw her fall into the sea, from whence she never rose again; though there were others who affirmed that she never came to the bottom of her leap, but that she was changed into a swan as she fell, and that they saw her hovering in the air under that shape. But whether or no the whiteness and fluttering of her garments might not deceive those who looked upon her, or whether she might not really be metamorphosed into that musical and melancholy bird, is still a doubt among the Lesbians.

CI.

THEY say that Narcissus was exceeding fair and beautiful, but wonderful proud and disdainful; wherefore despising all others in respect of himself, he leads a solitary life in the woods and chases, with a few followers, to whom he alone was all in all; amongst the rest there follows him the nymph Echo. During his course of life, it fatally so chanced that he came to a clear fountain, upon the bank whereof he lay down to repose himself in the heat of the day; and having espied the shadow of his own face in the water, was so besotted and ravished with the contemplation and admiration thereof, that he by no means possibly could be drawn from beholding his image in this glass; insomuch, that by continual gazing thereupon, he pined away to nothing, and was at last turned into a flower of his own name, which appears in the beginning of the spring, and is sacred to the infernal powers, Pluto, Proserpina, and the Furies.

This fable seems to show the dispositions and fortunes of those, who in respect either of their beauty or other gift wherewith they are adorned and graced by nature, without the help of industry, are so far besotted in themselves as that they prove the cause of their own destruction. For it is the property of men infected with this humour not to come much abroad, or to be conversant in civil affairs; specially seeing those that are in public place must of necessity encounter with many contempts and scorns which may much deject and trouble their minds; and therefore they lead for the most part a solitary, private, and obscure life, attended on with a few followers, and those such as will adore and admire them, like an echo, flatter them in all their sayings, and applaud them in all their words; so that being by this custom seduced and puffed up, and as it were stupified with the admiration of themselves, they are possessed with so strange a sloth and idleness, that they grow in a manner benumbed and defective of all vigour and alacrity. Elegantly doth this flower, appearing in the beginning of the spring, represent the likeness of these men's dispositions, who in their youth do flourish and wax famous; but being come to ripeness of years, they deceive and frustrate the good hope that is conceived of them. Neither is it impertinent that this flower is said to be consecrated to the infernal deities, because men of this disposition become unprofitable to all human things. For whatsoever produceth no fruit of itself, but passeth and vanisheth as if it never had been, like the way of a ship in the sea, that the ancients were wont to dedicate to the ghosts and powers below.

Plato, *Gorgias*, 525 *sqq.; Phædo*, 82; *Republic*, 517.

CII.

THE ancient sages parabled, that Love, if he be not twin born, yet hath a brother wondrous like him, called Anteros; whom while he seeks all about, his chance is to meet with many false and feigning desires that wander singly up and down, in his likeness. By them, in their borrowed garb, Love though not wholly blind, as Poets wrong him, yet having but one eye, as being born an archer aiming, and that eye not the quickest in this dark region here below, which is not Love's proper sphere, partly out of the simplicity and credulity which is native to him, often deceived, imbraces and consorts him with these obvious and suborned striplings, as if they were his mother's own sons; for so he thinks them, while they subtilly keep themselves most on his blind side. But after a while, as his manner is, soaring up above the shadow of the earth, he darts out the direct rays of his then most piercing eyesight upon the impostures and trim disguises that were used with him, and discerns that this is not his genuine brother, as he imagined. He has no longer the power to hold fellowship with such a personated mate; for straight his arrows lose their golden heads, and shed their purple feathers, his silken braids untwine and slip their knots, and that original and fiery virtue given him by fate goes out, and leaves him undeified and stript of all his force, till finding Anteros at last, he kindles and repairs the almost faded ammunition of his Deity.

Plato, *Phædrus*, 245; *Sympos.*, 203.

CIII.

'GRACIOUS lady,' replied Michael Angelo, 'these are undeserved praises; but as the conversation has taken this turn I must here complain of the public. A thousand silly reproaches are brought against artists of importance. Men say that they are strange people, that they are not to be approached, that there is no bearing with them. No one, on the contrary, can be so human and natural as great artists. But they persist in saying (I am not thinking of the few people who think rationally) that they are whimsical and strange. This charge, however, is least consistent with the nature of a painter. It is true, painters have certain peculiarities, especially here in Italy where the painting is better than anywhere else in the world; but how should an artist, absorbed in his work, take from it time and thought to drive away other people's ennui? There are few people who do what they do with perfect conscientiousness; but he who belongs to these few, will understand why it is sometimes not easy to deal with great artists. Their arrogance, certainly, is not to blame for this. But how rarely do they meet with a mind capable of understanding ideas, if they enter into common-place conversation which diverts them from their own deep thoughts! I can assure you his Holiness himself often perplexes me, when he asks me why I do not oftener show myself. I believe I can be more useful to him, and can serve him more conscientiously by remaining at home than by appearing in the palace for every trifle. I generally reply to such questions from his Holiness by saying that I prefer to work for him after my own fashion, instead of parading before him like others all day and not stirring a hand.'

Plato, *Ion*, 535; *Gorgias*, 509 c.

CIV.

I GRANT all this, and much more, if you will; but, recollect, Athens was the home of the intellectual and the beautiful; not of low mechanical contrivances, and material organisation. Why stop within your lodgings, counting the rents in your wall or the holes in your tiling, when nature and art call you away? You must put up with such a chamber, and a table and a stool, and a sleeping board, anywhere else in the three continents; one place does not differ from another indoors; your magalia in Africa or your grottoes in Syria are not perfection. I suppose you did not come to Athens to swarm up a ladder or to grope about in a closet: you came to see and hear, what hear and see you could not elsewhere. What food for the intellect is it possible to procure indoors, that you stay there looking about you? Do you think to read there? where are your books? Do you expect to purchase books at Athens? you are much out in your calculation. True it is we who live at this day in the nineteenth century, have the books of Greece as a perpetual memorial; and copies there have been since the time that they were written; but you need not go to Athens to procure them, nor would you find them in Athens. Strange to say, strange to the nineteenth century, that in the age of Plato and Thucydides, there was not, it is said, a bookshop in the whole place: nor was the book trade in existence till the very time of Augustus.

It was what the student gazed on, what he heard, what he caught by the magic of sympathy, not what he read, which was the education furnished by Athens.

Plato, ***Erastæ*****, 132 ;** ***Charmides, ad init.***

CV.

ON applying his Elenchus, and putting to them testing interrogations, he found them all without exception destitute of any real wisdom, yet fully persuaded that they were wise, and incapable of being shaken in that persuasion. The artisans indeed did really know each his own special trade ; but then, on account of this knowledge, they believed themselves to be wise on other great matters also. So also the poets were great in their own compositions; but on being questioned respecting these very compositions, they were unable to give any rational or consistent explanations: so that they plainly appeared to have written beautiful verses, not from any wisdom of their own, but through inspiration from the gods, or spontaneous promptings of nature. The result was, that these men were all proved to possess no more real wisdom than Sokrates: but he was aware of his own deficiency; while they were fully convinced of their own wisdom, and could not be made sensible of the contrary.

Plato, *Apol.* 22-23 ; *Ion*, 533 E. ; *Phædrus*, 275 ; *Sophist.* 230.

CVI.

IT decideth also the controversies between Zeno and Socrates, and their schools and successions, on the one side, who placed felicity in virtue simply or attended, the actions and exercises whereof do chiefly embrace and concern society ; and on the other side, the Cyrenaics and Epicureans, who placed it in pleasure, and made virtue (as it is used in some comedies of errors, wherein the mistress and the maid change habits) to be but as a servant, without which pleasure cannot be served and attended, and the reformed school of the Epicureans, which placed it in serenity of mind and freedom from perturbation (as if they would have deposed Jupiter again, and restored Saturn and the first age, when there was no summer nor winter, spring nor autumn, but all after one air and season), and Herillus, who placed felicity in extinguishment of the disputes of the mind, making no fixed nature of good and evil, esteeming things according to the clearness of the desires, or the reluctation; which opinion was revived in the heresy of the Anabaptists, measuring things according to the motions of the spirit, and the constancy or wavering of belief; all which are manifest to tend to private repose and contentment, and not to point of society.

Aristotle, *Ethics*, i. 10, 15.

CVII.

YOU will not perhaps take my advice yet. The world of man looks so pretty, that you will needs have your peep at it, and stare into its shop windows, and, if you can, go to a few of its stage plays, and dance at a few of its balls. Ah, well! after a wild dream comes an uneasy awakening: and after too many sweet things comes a sick headache. And one morning you will awake, I trust and pray, from the world of man to the world of God, and wonder where wonder is due, and worship where worship is due. You will awake like a child who has been at a pantomime over night, staring at the 'fairy halls,' which are all paint and canvas; and the 'dazzling splendours,' which are gas and oil; and the 'magic transformations,' which are done with ropes and pulleys; and the 'brilliant elves' who are poor little children out of the next foul alley; and the harlequin and clown, who through all their fun are thinking wearily over the old debts which they must pay, and the hungry mouths at home which they must feed: and so having thought it all wondrously glorious, and quite a fairy land, slips tired and stupid into bed, and awakes next morning to see the pure light shining in through the delicate frost lace on the window pane, and looks out over fields of virgin snow, and watches the rosy dawn and cloudless blue, and the great sun rising to the music of cawing rooks and piping stares, and says, 'This is the true wonder. The theatre last night was the fairy land of man: but this is the fairy land of God.'

Plato, *Lysis*, 206; *Gorgias*, 521; *Theætet.*, 197; *Philebus*, 51.

CVIII.

THE divine Plato, whose doctrines are not sufficiently attended to by philosophers of the present age, allows to every man three souls: one, immortal and rational seated in the brain, that it may overlook and regulate the body,—a second, consisting of the surly and irascible passions, which, like belligerent powers, lie encamped around the heart,—a third, mortal and sensual, destitute of reason, gross and brutal in its propensities, and enchained in the belly, that it may not disturb the divine soul by its ravenous howlings. Now, according to this excellent theory, what can be more clear, than that your fat alderman is most likely to have the most regular and well-conditioned mind. His head is like a huge spherical chamber, containing a prodigious mass of soft brains, whereon the rational soul lies softly and snugly couched, as on a feather-bed; and the eyes, which are the windows of the bed-chamber, are usually half-closed, that its slumberings may not be disturbed by external objects. A mind thus comfortably lodged and protected from disturbance is manifestly most likely to perform its functions with regularity and ease. By dint of good feeding, moreover, the mortal and malignant soul, which is confined in the belly, and which, by its raging and roaring, puts the irritable soul in the neighbourhood of the heart in an intolerable passion, and thus renders men crusty and quarrelsome when hungry, is completely pacified, silenced, and put to rest: whereupon a host of honest good-fellow qualities and kind-hearted affections which had lain perdue, slily peeping out of the loopholes of the heart, finding this Cerberus asleep, do pluck up their spirits, turn out one and all in their holiday suits, and gambol up and down the diaphragm—disposing their possessor to laughter, good-humour, and a thousand friendly offices towards his fellow-mortals.

Plato, *Sympos.*, 215; *Republic*, 439, *sqq.*; *Phædo*, 66; *Philebus*, 35; *Timæus*, 70.

CIX.

'I HAVE travelled a good deal in the universe,' said Micromegas. 'I have seen many classes of mortals far beneath us, and many as much superior; but I have never had the good fortune to meet with any, who had not always more desires than real necessities to occupy their life. And, pray, how long may you Saturnians live, with your few senses?' continued the Sirian. 'Ah! but a very short time indeed!' said the little man of Saturn, with a sigh. 'It is the same with us,' said the traveller; 'we are for ever complaining of the shortness of life. It must be a universal law of Nature.' 'Alas!' said the Saturnian, 'we live only five hundred great revolutions of the sun;'—which is pretty much about fifteen thousand years of our counting:—'You see plainly that this is to die almost the moment one is born. Our existence is a point,—our duration an instant,—our globe an atom. Scarcely have we begun to pick up a little knowledge, when death rushes in upon us, before we can have acquired anything like experience. As for me, I cannot venture even to think of any project. I feel myself but like a drop of water in the ocean, and especially now, when I look at you and at myself, I really feel quite ashamed of the ridiculous appearance which I cut in the universe. 'If I did not know you to be a philosopher,' replied Micromegas, 'I should be afraid of distressing you when I tell you, that our life is seven hundred times longer than yours. But what is even that? and when we come to the last moment, to have lived a single day, and to have lived a whole eternity amount to the same thing. I have been in countries where they live a thousand times longer than with us; and I have always found them murmuring just as we do ourselves.'

CX.

POETRY as distinguished from other modes of composition does not rest in metre, and is not poetry if it make no appeal to our passions or our imagination. One character belongs to all true poets—that they write from a principle within, not originating in anything without: and the true poet's work is distinguished from all other works that assume to belong to the class of poetry as a natural from an artificial flower, or as the mimic garden of a child from an enamelled meadow. In the former, the flowers are broken from their stems and stuck into the ground; they are beautiful to the eye and fragrant to the sense, but their colours soon fade and their odour is transient as the smile of the plants: while the meadow may be visited again and again with renewed delight, its beauty is innate in the soil and its bloom is of the freshness of nature.

Plato, *Phædrus*, 245; *Apolog.*, 22; *Ion*, 533; *Protagoras*, 345; *Republic*, 605.

CXI.

WHEN he found that he continued thus to live several hours longer than he expected, he sent again for his wife and children to his bed-side, to take his leave once more of them, and of the rest of the family that were up; and they say, he was even fuller now in his exhortations to them than before, and they were mighty well suited, and particularly applied to the circumstances and conditions of the several persons to whom they were given. He recommended his wife and children to the Divine providence and protection in so moving and affectionate a manner, as is difficult to express: and he thanked all his servants for the pains they had taken with him in his sickness: and as for the rest, his exhortations ran chiefly upon general heads, such as the great importance of religion, the vanity of the world, the deceitful nature of riches and honours, and what miserable comforters they would prove at last; and, finally, the absolute necessity of a holy life, in order to a happy death. These are the subjects which he endeavoured to impress upon the minds of those who were left behind him.

Plato, *Phædo*, 58, *sqq.*, 118. Xenophon, *Apolog. Socrat. ad finem.*

CXII.

OF all the professors of the art of military plundering, the terrible Martin Schenk was pre-eminent; and he was now ravaging the Cologne territory, having recently passed again into the service of the States. Born of an ancient and noble family, Martin Schenk had inherited no property but a sword. He joined, while yet a youth, the banner of William of Orange, at the head of two men-at-arms; and was received with courtesy, but soon quarrelled with his patron. There was a castle of Blyenbeek, belonging to his cousin, which he chose to consider his rightful property, because he was of the same race, and because it was a convenient and productive estate and residence. The courts took a different view of public law, and supported the ousted cousin. Martin shut himself up in the castle, and having recently committed a discreditable homicide, which increased his unpopularity with the patriots, made overtures to Parma. Alexander was glad to enlist so bold a soldier on his side, and assisted Schenk in his besieged stronghold. For years afterwards, his services under the king's banner were most brilliant, and he rose to the highest military command, while his coffers were rapidly filling with the results of his robberies and extortions. ''Tis a most courageous fellow,' said Parma, 'but rather a desperate highwayman than a valiant soldier.'

Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. c. vi. 1-15, 21-29.

CXIII.

MARTIN'S couple of lances had expanded into a corps of free companions, the most truculent, the most obedient, the most rapacious in Christendom. Never were freebooters more formidable to the world at large, or more docile to their chief, than were the followers of General Schenk. Never was a more finished captain of highwaymen. He was a man who was never sober, yet who never smiled. His habitual intoxication seemed only to increase both his audacity and his taciturnity, without disturbing his reason. He was incapable of fatigue, of fear, of remorse. He could remain for days and nights without dismounting—eating, drinking, and sleeping in the saddle; so that to this terrible centaur his horse seemed actually a part of himself. His soldiers followed him about like hounds, and were treated by him like hounds. He habitually scourged them, often took with his own hand the lives of such as displeased him, and had been known to cause individuals of them to jump from the top of church steeples at his command: yet the pack were ever staunch to his orders, for they knew that he always led them where the game was plenty.

Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. c. vi. 1-15, 21-29; *Agesilaus.* cap. v. Demosthenes, *Aristocr.* 173 [xxiii. 669].

CXIV.

I HAVE undertaken to write the biography of a great Statesman under whom I have long served, and for whom I had a respectful and sincere affection. I shall endeavour to perform this not ungrateful task with simplicity and impartiality, feeling certain that the more simply and impartially I can make known the character of Lord Palmerston, the more likely I am to secure for his memory the admiration and esteem of his countrymen.

The most distinguishing quality of the eminent Englishman whom I am thus about to describe was a nature that opened itself happily to the tastes, feelings, and habits of various classes and kinds of men. Hence a comprehensive sympathy, which not only put his actions in spontaneous harmony with the sense and feeling of the public, but, by presenting life before his mind in many aspects, widened his views and moderated his impressions, and led him away from those subtleties and eccentricities which solitude or living constantly in any limited society is apt to generate.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, c. i. c. vii. c. viii. c. xi. Isocrates, *Epist.* ix. 7.

CXV.

HE was a man of singular force of temperament and character, one of those who seem destined, in whatever rank they enter life, to carve for themselves a career.

An adept in all the arts of statesmanship and of business, he was at once an able city functionary and a skilful agriculturist. The heights of office are scaled by different paths. Legal lore, eloquence, military glory, each lead their votaries to eminence. We have in him one whose happy genius followed every track with like success. The employment of the hour seemed the only purpose for which he had come into the world. A gallant soldier in the field and the hero of a hundred fights, when he had won his way to higher rank, he was unrivalled as a general. In the pursuits of peace he was at once the most erudite of authorities on a legal question and a most effective pleader before a jury. Nor can it be said of him that, powerful as were his orations in his lifetime, he has left no enduring record of his gifts. His eloquence is still a living power enshrined in writings of universal range.

Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, c. xi.

CXVI.

LIKE Themistocles, he was gifted with an extraordinary memory; the very day after his arrival at Rome, he was able to address all the senators and the citizens of the equestrian order by their several proper names. He had studied philosophy, like all his educated countrymen, and appears to have admired particularly the new doctrine of Epicurus; which taught that war and state affairs were but toil and trouble, and that the wise man should imitate the blissful rest of the gods, who, dwelling in their own divinity, regarded not the vain turmoil of this lower world. Yet his life was better than his philosophy; he served his king actively and faithfully in peace and in war, and he wrote a military work, for which he neither wanted ability nor practical knowledge. He excited no small attention as he went to Rome, and his sayings at the places through which he passed were remembered and recorded. Some stories said that he was the bearer of presents to the influential senators, and of splendid dresses to win the favour of their wives; all which, as the Roman traditions related, were steadily refused. But his proposals required grave consideration, and there were many in the senate who thought that the state of affairs made it necessary to accept them.

Thucydides, i. 138.

CXVII.

IT was in the business of war that his ability was most conspicuous; and so great it was that he could not only lead an army but make one. For he was not more skilful in conducting actions than in the management of men's minds; and that not by any ordinary kind of discipline, that inured them to obey commands, or awakened a sense of shame, or enforced by severity, but one that inspired a wonderful order and alacrity, and won the battle almost before it began, and endeared him to the soldiery more than was good for a free commonwealth. Versed as he was moreover in every kind of war, and uniting civil arts with military, no accident took him so unexpectedly but he had a remedy prepared for it: nothing fell out so cross but he drew some advantage from it.

Xenophon, *Anab.* i. c. ix; ii. c. vi.

CXVIII.

TOUCHING matters of revenue, a statesman should be acquainted with the various branches of the public income, its sources and amount; so that if any one has been overlooked, it may be turned to account, or if less productive than it ought to be, it may be enlarged. He ought also to be conversant with the public expenditure; for a nation is not less enriched by retrenchment of expenditure than by addition of income. In matters of peace and war he should know the national force, its present amount and condition, as well as the amount it may be raised to, and the improvement it may admit of. He should be familiar too with the wars in which not only his own country, but the neighbouring states have been engaged. And, with a view to the security of the territory, he should understand well what places are best suited for posts, and what amount, as well as what kind of force, is best calculated to defend them.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 328, 304.

CXIX.

IN the kingdom of Ternates, among those nations, which we so full-mouthed call barbarous, the custom beareth, that they never undertake a war, before the same be denounced; thereunto adding an ample declaration of the means they have to employ therein, what manner, and how many men, what munition, and what arms either offensive or defensive: which done, they also establish as a law, that without reproach or imputation it shall be lawful for any man in their wars to use what advantage soever may in any sort further or help them to vanquish. The ancient Florentines were so far from desiring any advantage of their enemies by sudden surprises that a month before they could bring their armies into the field they would give them warning by the continual sound of their common bell, which they called Martinella. As for us who are less superstitious, and deem him to have the honour of the war that hath the profit of it, and, according to Lysander, say, that 'where the Lion's skin will not suffice we must add a scantling of the Fox's;' the most ordinary occasions of surprises are drawn from this practice, and as we say there is no time wherein a captain ought to be more wary and circumspect to look about him than that of parleys and treaties of accord: and therefore is it a common rule in the mouth of all our modern men of war that the governor or commander of a besieged place ought never to sally forth himself to parley.

Xenophon, *de Repub. Laced.*, c. xi.

CXX.

THESE Lacedæmonians had lived about four hundred years under one form of government, when the Peloponnesian war began. Their education was only to practise feats of arms, wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such a manner of life as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparel they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meals being in common halls, where all fared alike. They used money of iron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived Utopian-like, save that they used no other occupation than war, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to pass, that in all enterprises whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the Athenians were in all points contrary to this; for they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary soldiers in their wars, and exacted great tribute of their subjects, which were for the most part islanders, compelled to obey them, because the Athenian fleet was great.

Xenophon, *de Repub. Laced.*, c. vii.

CXXI.

THREE companies were formed, each composed of eighteen members and a president, and these were to supply the corn and clothing which the armies might require. But in return they demanded an exemption from military service, whilst they were thus serving the state with their money; and they also required the government to undertake the whole sea-risk, whether from storms or from the enemy: whatever articles were thus lost were to be the loss of the nation and not of the companies. It will be seen hereafter how some of the contractors abused this equitable condition, and wilfully destroyed cargoes of small value in order to recover the insurance upon them from the government. That a citizen should enrich himself by frauds practised on his country in such a season of distress and danger is sufficiently monstrous, but the spirit of jobbing is inveterate in human nature.

Demosthenes, *Symmor*, 19; *de Corona*, 127.

CXXII.

IF the talent of ridicule were employed to laugh men out of vice and folly, it might be of some use to the world; but instead of this, we find that it is generally made use of to laugh men out of virtue and good sense, by attacking every thing that is solemn and serious, decent and praiseworthy in human life. We may observe, that in the first ages of the world, when the great souls and masterpieces of human nature were produced, men shined by a noble simplicity of behaviour, and were strangers to those little embellishments which are so fashionable in our present conversation. And it is very remarkable, that notwithstanding we fall short at present of the ancients in poetry, painting, oratory, history, architecture and all the noble arts and sciences which depend more upon genius than experience, we exceed them as much in doggerel humour, burlesque, and all the trivial arts of ridicule. We meet with more raillery among the moderns, but more good sense among the ancients.

Xenophon, *Conviv.* i. 14. Plato, *Repub.* v. 3. Thucydides, iii. 83. Isocrates, *περὶ* Αντιδοσ. [xv. 284].

CXXIII.

THE eagerness and strong bent of the mind after knowledge, if not warily regulated, is often a hindrance to it. It still presses into farther discoveries and new objects, and catches at the variety of knowledge, and therefore often stays not long enough on what is before it, to look into it as it should, for haste to pursue what is yet out of sight. He that rides post through a country, may be able, from the transient view, to tell how in general the parts lie, and may be able to give some loose description of here a mountain, and there a plain, here a morass, and there a river; woodland in one part, and savannas in another. Such superficial ideas and observations as these he may collect in galloping over it; but the more useful observations of the soil, plants, animals, and inhabitants, with their several sorts and properties, must necessarily escape him; and it is seldom men ever discover the rich mines, without some digging. Nature commonly lodges her treasure and jewels in rocky ground. If the matter be knotty, and the sense lies deep, the mind must stop and buckle to it, and stick upon it with labour and thought, and close contemplation, and not leave it till it has mastered the difficulty, and got possession of truth.

CXXIV

IN the present state of public opinion, perhaps always, we shall go on as we have gone on for nearly two centuries, trusting to fortune, British pluck, and the energies of an hour, to parry the blows of emergency. Our sagacity and practical vigour are almost absorbed in politics and trade, excepting, of course, the navy, which is organised, nourished, and sustained on sound principles. We are sometimes described as a warlike but not a military nation, meaning that we are always ready to defend ourselves or our belongings anywhere on the earth, improvising the means as we go forward, and yielding in a contest only to indisputable necessity. While we maintain a navy on a basis of long-sighted calculation, preparing for probable war and possible contingencies, our military forces are kept just abreast, occasionally below, actual everyday needs. In that respect we differ from all the great Powers, the chief reason being that we are girdled and guarded by the sea. Another is the rare necessity which impels us to take part in Continental wars, and the apparent remoteness of a danger, which, nevertheless, may come at any moment and find us relatively as unprepared as we were in 1827 or 1854. But probably the main effective reason is the 'desire to get on industrially and socially,' the 'wish to get settled early in some permanent employment,' and we may add, that British dislike of restraint which ages of independence have fostered and confirmed. Otherwise, the advantages embodied in the idea of making the army 'something like a great training school,' where order, punctuality, obedience, discipline, readiness to cope with sudden demands, in one word, duty in its largest sense, might and should be taught, would not have escaped the notice of a practical community.

Demosthenes, *Chersones.* 32 [viii. 97]; *Olynth.* i. 22 [ii. 24].
Thucydides, ii. 62, *sqq.*, 65.

CXXV.

A PATRIOT is necessarily and invariably a lover of the people. But even this mark may sometimes deceive us. The people is a very heterogeneous and confused mass, of the wealthy and the poor, the wise and the foolish, the good and the bad. Before we confer on a man who caresses the people the title of patriot, we must examine to what part of the people he directs his notice. It is proverbially said, that he who dissembles his own character may be known by that of his companions. If the candidate of patriotism endeavours to infuse right opinions into the higher ranks, and by their influence to regulate the lower; if he consorts chiefly with the wise, the temperate, the regular and the virtuous, his love of the people may be rational and honest. But if his first or principal application be to the indigent, who are always inflammable; to the weak, who are naturally suspicious; to the ignorant, who are easily misled; and to the profligate, who have no hope but from mischief and confusion; let his love of the people be no longer boasted. A patriot is always ready to countenance the just claims, and animate the reasonable hopes of the people; he reminds them frequently of their rights, and stimulates them to resent encroachments, and to multiply securities. But all this may be done in appearance, without real patriotism. He that raises false hopes to serve a present purpose, only makes a way for disappointment and discontent. He who promises to endeavour what he knows his endeavours unable to effect, means only to delude his followers by an empty clamour of ineffectual zeal.

Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 341 [xviii. 318, *sqq.*]. Æschines, *in Ctesiphont*, 168 [iii. 77, 78]. Xenophon, *Memor.* iv. 2, 37.

CXXVI.

I WILL now beg of my hearer to pause a moment, and to review in his own mind the whole of what has been laid before him. He has seen of what kind, and how great have been the injuries endured by these two nations; what they have suffered, and what they have to fear; he has seen that they have felt with that unanimity which has led philosophers upon like occasions to assert, that the voice of the people is the voice of God. He has seen that they have submitted as far as human nature could bear; and that at last these millions of suffering people have risen almost like one man, with one hope; for whether they look to triumph or defeat, to victory or death, they are full of hope, each individual knows the danger, and, strong in the magnitude of it, grasps eagerly at the thought that he himself is to perish; and more eagerly, and with higher confidence, does he lay to his heart the faith that the nation will survive and be victorious;—or, at the worst, let the contest terminate how it may as to superiority of outward strength, that the fortitude and the martyrdom, the justice and the blessing, are theirs and cannot be relinquished. Woe, then, to the unworthy who intrude with their help to maintain this most sacred cause! It calls aloud for the aid of intellect, knowledge, and love, and rejects every other. It is in vain to send forth armies if these do not inspire and direct them. The stream is as pure as it is mighty, any augmentation from the kennels and sewers of guilt and baseness may clog, but cannot strengthen it. For the contest is not for the concerns of a day, but for the security and happiness of ages; not for an insulated privilege, but for the rights of human nature; not for temporal blessings, but for eternal happiness; not for the benefit of one nation, but for all mankind.

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* p. 29 l. 10.

CXXVII.

WHY should we not, with all the unanimity of which we are capable, by public meetings, by petitions, and, when the proper time comes, by presenting ourselves at the polling-booths, do everything in our power to pass this measure into law? I say that we are great in numbers; that, united, we are great in strength; that we are invincible in the solidity of our arguments; that we are altogether unassailable in the justice of our cause. Shall we then, I ask you, even for a moment be hopeless of our great cause? I feel almost ashamed even to argue it to such a meeting as this. I call to mind where I am, and who are those whom I see before me. Am I not in the town of Birmingham—England's central capital; and do not these eyes look upon the sons of those who, not thirty years ago, shook the fabric of privilege to its base? Not a few of the strong men of that time are now white with age. They approach the confines of their mortal day. Its evening is cheered with the remembrance of that great contest, and they rejoice in the freedom they have won. Shall their sons be less noble than they? Shall the fire which they kindled be extinguished with you? I see your answer in every face. You are resolved that the legacy which they bequeathed to you, you will hand down in an accumulated wealth of freedom to your children. As for me, my voice is feeble. I feel now sensibly and painfully that I am not what I was. I speak with diminished fire; I act with a lessened force; but as I am, my countrymen and constituents, I will, if you will let me, be found in your ranks in the impending struggle.

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* pp. 26, 31 l. 8.

CXXVIII.

THESE opponents of ours, many of them in Parliament openly, and many of them secretly in the Press, have charged us with being the promoters of a dangerous excitement. They say we are the source of the danger which threatens; they have absolutely the effrontery to charge me with being the friend of public disorder. I am one of the people. Surely, if there be one thing in a free country more clear than another, it is that any one of the people may speak openly to the people. If I speak to the people of their rights, and indicate to them the way to secure them—if I speak of their danger to the monopolists of power—am I not a wise counsellor, both to the people and to their rulers? Suppose I stood at the foot of Vesuvius or Ætna, and, seeing a hamlet or a homestead planted on its slope, I said to the dwellers in that hamlet or in that homestead,—You see yon vapour which ascends from the summit of the mountain;—that vapour may become a dense black smoke that will obscure the sky. You see that trickling of lava from the fissures in the side of the mountain;—that trickling of lava may become a river of fire. You hear that muttering in the bowels of the mountain;—that muttering may become a bellowing thunder, the voice of a violent convulsion that may shake half a continent. You know that at your feet is the grave of great cities for which there is no resurrection, as history tells us that dynasties and aristocracies have passed away, and their name has been known no more for ever. If I say this to the dwellers upon the mountain, and if there comes hereafter a catastrophe which makes the world to shudder, am I responsible for that catastrophe? I did not build the mountain or fill it with explosive materials. I merely warned the men that were in danger.

Demosthenes, *Olynth.* p. 34 l. 11. *Lycurgus in Leocrat.* p. 159, 30.

CXXIX.

AND now, sir, I have done with these minor matters. They may seem scarcely worth the trouble I have spent upon them; but it is just such small details as these that form the surest indications of a man's real character. He has not time to rehearse his part, or to pose himself in the attitude in which he would wish others to see him: he must act in accordance with his natural bias. And so in the present case these details show us our honourable statesman swayed only by one motive, the love of power, and ready to sacrifice any principle that may clash with that.

But I pass to a more serious charge, in which this characteristic will appear more plainly: and the charge that I make is this, that knowing this war to be unrighteous, he has yet forced us to take part in it, in order to retain the reins of office for himself: and, further, that he has secured this end by a flagrant bribery of his supporters. What excuse can he allege for such political conduct? There is no sound defence that he can adduce; but he will be ready with his sophisms, and I will try to put you on your guard against them. He will say that the members of his side of the House were elected not to weary the House by explaining their views on every question which occurs, but to vote in support of the Government: consequently it was not a bribe they had received, but the mere worth of their work: they had not changed their opinions for money, and he had but followed the practice of all public men.

Æschines, *in Ctesiphont*, p. 87.

CXXX.

I BEG you with all affection to consider the danger in which you have placed yourselves. You have to deal with the proudest and most overbearing race in the world. For those qualities they are hated by all other nations. 'Tis a race which seeks to domineer wheresoever it comes. It particularly declares its intention to crush and to tyrannise over you, my masters, and all the land. They have conquered you already, as they boast, for the crime of lese-majesty has placed you at their mercy. I tell you that your last act, by which you have declared this army to be rebels, is decisive. You have armed and excited the whole people against them, even to the peasants and the peasants' children, and the insults and injuries thus received, however richly deserved and dearly avenged, are all set down to your account. Therefore 'tis necessary for you to decide now, whether to be utterly ruined, yourselves and your children, or to continue firmly the work that you have begun boldly, and rather to die a hundred thousand deaths than to make a treaty with them which can only end in your ruin. Be assured that the measure dealt to you will be ignominy as well as destruction. Let not your leaders expect the honourable scaffolds of Counts Egmon and Horn. The whipping-post and the gibbet will be their certain fate.

Demosth. *Philipp.* p. 66 l. 30.

CXXXI.

MY Lords, I have done; the part of the Commons is concluded. With a trembling solicitude we consign this product of our long, long labours, to your charge. Take it!—take it! It is a sacred trust. Never before was a cause of such magnitude submitted to any human tribunal.

My Lords, at this awful close, in the name of the Commons, and surrounded by them, I attest the retiring, I attest the advancing generations, between which, as a link in the great chain of eternal order, we stand.—We call this nation, we call the world to witness, that the Commons have shrunk from no labour; that we have been guilty of no prevarication; that we have made no compromise with crime; that we have not feared any odium whatsoever, in the long warfare which we have carried on with the crimes—with the voices—with the exorbitant wealth—with the enormous and overpowering influence of Eastern corruption.

Æschines, *in Ctesiphont*, p. 90.

CXXXII.

WHEN our ministers had once departed from the straight line of British policy, the difficulty of returning to it became every day greater, and the inclination every year less. We continued busy and bustling in every Court of Europe. We negotiated against the Emperor in concert with France, and gave her thereby the means of gaining more of that credit and influence in the Empire which she formerly had, than she could have acquired without our assistance. We contrived to make peace abroad almost as chargeable to us as war. Abuses of every kind were suffered at home. Trade was neither eased nor encouraged, and the gradual payment of our debts was utterly neglected by a minister, rather desirous to keep his country under this oppression, than ignorant of the means to deliver her from it. Whilst we acted in this manner, France grew frugal: she made the debts she could not pay sit more lightly upon her; she raised her credit; and she extended her commerce. In short, her strength increased, and ours diminished. We were reduced to a state of weakness we had never felt before; and this very weakness was urged as a reason for bearing tamely the losses our merchants sustained, and all the affronts our Government received, lest we should be drawn into a war by using reprisals, the common right of all nations.

Demosthenes, *de Corona* [xviii. 230, 231, *sqq.*, 240 *sqq.*].

CXXXIII.

OUR political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world, and with the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts; wherein, by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom, moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole at one time is never old or middle-aged or young, but in a condition of unchangeable constancy moves on through the varied tenour of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve we are never wholly new, in what we retain we are never wholly obsolete. By adhering in this manner and on those principles to our forefathers, we are guided not by the superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood, binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties, adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections, keeping inseparable and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually-reflected charities our state, our hearths, our sepulchres, and our altars.

Thucydides, vi. 18.

CXXXIV.

A PERFECT democracy is the most shameless thing in the world. As it is the most shameless, it is also the most fearless. No man apprehends in his person that he can be made subject to punishment. Certainly the people at large never ought; for as all punishments are for example towards the conservation of the people at large, the people at large can never become the subject of punishment by any human hand. It is therefore of infinite importance that they should not be suffered to imagine that their will, any more than that of kings, is the standard of right and wrong. They ought to be persuaded that they are full as little entitled, and far less qualified, with safety to themselves, to use any arbitrary power whatsoever.

Thucydides, iii. 37. Demosthenes, *de falsa Legat.* 148 [xix. 383].

CXXXV.

YOUR proposal does not surprise me. I have long expected it. I well know the character of that senseless monster the people, unable either to support the present or to foresee the future, always desirous of attempting the impossible, and of rushing headlong to its ruin. Yet your unthinking folly shall not induce me to permit your own destruction, nor to betray the trust committed to me by my sovereign and yours. Success in war depends less on intrepidity than in prudence to await, to distinguish, and to seize the decisive moment of fortune. You appear to regard the present contest as a game of hazard, which you might determine by a single throw of the dice; but I, at least, have learnt from experience to prefer security to speed. But it seems that you offer to reinforce my troops, and to march with them against the enemy. Where then have you acquired your knowledge of war? And what true soldier is not aware that the result of a battle must chiefly rest on the skill and discipline of the combatants? Ours is a real enemy in the field; we march to a battle, and not to a review. I am, however, willing to praise your courage, to forgive your murmurs, and to prove to you that my present delay is founded on judicious policy.

Thucydides, ii. 60. Demosthenes, *de falsa Legat.* 148 [xix. 383].

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